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DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN
(Drogpa Namgyal: Ein Tibeterleben)

By S. H. Ribbach

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/The first two (unnumbered) pages are covered with illustrations, the first of these with the subtitle: "Pyag-rdor (Chag dor), Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of the faith, also a rain god"; the second illustration is of a house with a group of masked figures standing underneath and the inscription RIBBACH DROGPA NAMGYAL./

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FOREWORD

The present description of the life of a Tibetan is based in its first part, up to marriage, upon the detailed accounts that the Tibetan teacher Gau Puntsong, a Buddhist, communicated to me at the time in Leh (in Ladakh). This man was considered one of the best-educated and one of the most intelligent among his countrymen, and he possessed such a thorough knowledge of the customs and practices, the religion and the folklore of his people as could scarcely be found in any other person. The "history" of the Tibetan Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) which is here told does not lay any claim to being narrative in the sense of a continuous, uninterrupted presentation of the career of one human being. In calling it "a Tibetan life" in the subtitle I wanted to indicate that an attempt has here been made to depict the life of a West Tibetan as it is conducted in a typical day-to-day manner. In so doing I wanted to weave into the narrative as much as was possible an account of the customs and practices, of the religious thought, and of the views and rites as they play their part in daily life, in order to give a picture of the thinking, feeling and actions of the people. 124 121

This history was originally intended for publication in the illustrated periodical of the Moravians, Kampf und Sieg /"Battle and

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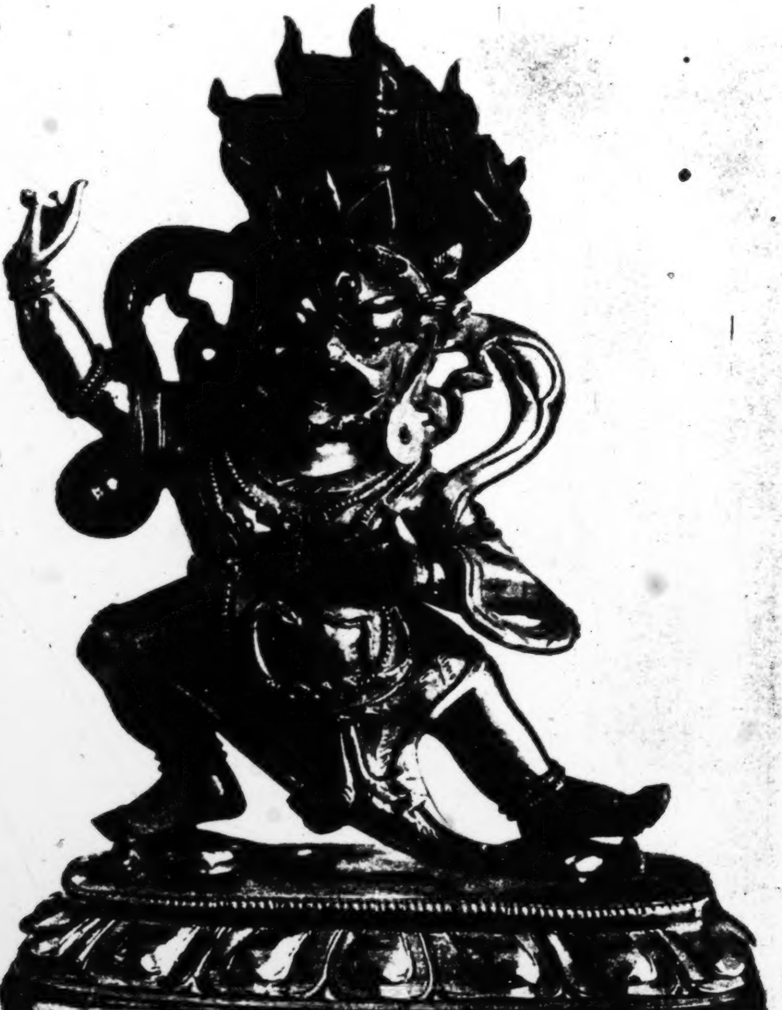
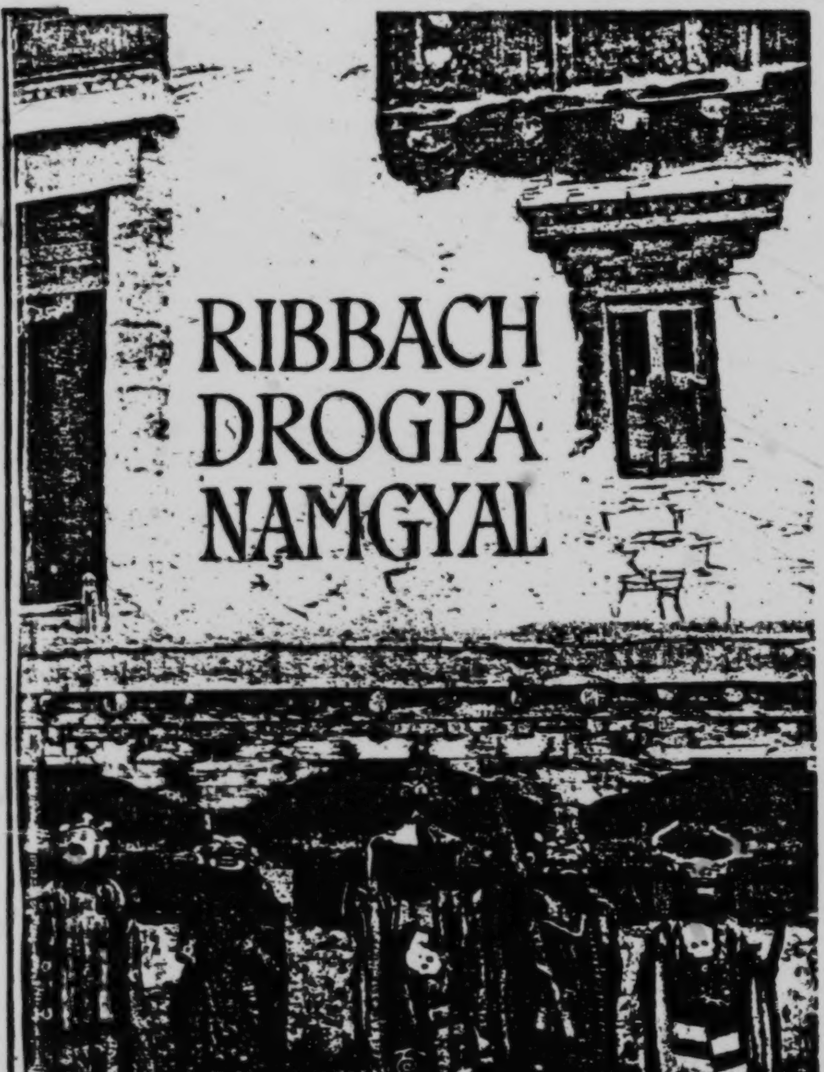


'Pyag-rdor (Chag dor),
Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of faith, also a rain god



RIBBACH
DROGPA
NAMGYAL

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[12] Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing. Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr. A.H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
and, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the
Vestern Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading
nountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village
orms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming
pricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate,
rojecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly
he fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike
ur ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and
he call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the
ndus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded
easts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main
own of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the
vomen who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise
verything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the
vhite-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue,
loudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
n the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to
is house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and every-
ody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

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1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has
its own name by which the present owner can likewise be
called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name
of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently
recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering,"
"Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other.
In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which
usually have a religious significance, the house names display
a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa),
Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the
551 four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śań-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKań-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (rKu p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum), " "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas [262]
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

789 dangers which must be averted. This exorcism is accomplished by the lamas through the reading of that book with its powerful exorcising formulas, through magical gestures, through the swinging of the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and of the magical bell, as well as through the blasts of trumpets and the beats of the drum. This display of power is too much even for the hundred thousand, so that the latter have to yield the field.

By the time the day draws to a close and the sun has gone down in the west /14/ over there behind the jagged cliffs, everyone of the lamas has read through his pile of leaves; at the end there is still a lone straggler who reads by himself, an unpractised novice who still lacks the necessary experience in reading fast. A few more powerful "Om, hum, shri!"--boom, boom, boom! the great drum joins in resoundingly once more. Then everything becomes still. The "battle" has been won. The 100,000 child demons have been beaten and have, as the oldest lama confidently assures Lobsang Wanggyal, fled far away. The expected son and heir may now make his entrance into this evil world with good cheer. He has nothing more to fear from those hundred thousand.

The novice arranges the leaves of the pad according to the numbers printed on them, lays them with loving care between the two wooden covers and ties the book together with leather belts. The red-cowled men pour down a few more bowls of beer, then the lord of the house places a piece of money in the hand of each of them, and then the "victors" march off with a satisfied air. It was a successful day: it brought them "victory" and plenty to eat.

Lobsang Wanggyal calculates the expenses. They were considerable: the holy brothers consumed almost half a sheep, and in addition several pounds of rice, a lot of vegetables, apricots, flour, butter, and tea; and on top of that the money! Well, Lobsang Wanggyal can afford it; he is, even if not rich, at least the best-to-do farmer in the village. He has three horses and several yaks, a considerable number of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys, and the trade by exchange which takes him in the summer of every year to the distant highland steppes, to the nomads of Jangtang, also brings in a fair profit, and this past year it was particularly profitable. Thus he does not rue the expenses so long as the expected heir of the house remains protected from evil spirits and brings good fortune to the dwelling.

/15/

The Birth

He has arrived! The heir! It is really a boy! How clever the astrologist is after all! True, with Tsewang Paljor in the neighboring village his prediction did not prove correct last year. The onpo had calculated a boy, and a girl was born. Just a girl! The enraged father went to the onpo and demanded to have his fee for the false horoscope returned. The onpo laughed at the angry father and said boldly to his face: "Bon-bu-t'sogs (you ass)! Did you not tell me Capricorn, when I asked you the constellation under which your wife was born? And now it turns out to be Cancer, " of whose existence the disappointed father did not have the faintest notion. The onpo swore by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood) that it was so; and this, of course, had thrown the entire calculation off its track. Thereupon Tsewang Paljor had to march off with a long face, one experience richer, and poorer by ten jau (equals two rupees which equals two Reichsmark), and he had to content himself with the thought that for the time being he would only be able to call a girl his own. But it was after all too stupid of Tsewang Paljor not to know the constellation of his wife's birth! Such a thing simply could not happen to Lobsang Wanggyal, so the latter thought to himself, and rejoiced over his bu-t'sa (boy). 787

Old Tsering Putrid, the mother of Lobsang Wanggyal, is an orderly, prudent and cleanly housewife. At the proper time she provides a warm "nest" for the expected grandson. She goes into the pantry and picks out from the old flour sacks made of goatskin one in which the mice have eaten a hole. That does no harm; she sews up the hole. After the little man has now made his entrance into the world with loud crying, he is first wrapped into a rough woollen coat of his father's by his aunt who has taken him in her arms. Grandmother Tsering Putrid meanwhile quickly runs into the goats' /16/ hut; there, in a corner, lies a small heap of old, dried-up goats' dung which she has previously rubbed into fine particles on a stone. Of this she puts six to eight handfuls into the sack. With this she mixes some of the dung of ibexes and wild sheep, which, at her command, her youngest boy has brought with him from the mountains where he has been guarding the goats. The dung from these nimble animals will make the new-born son quick of foot. This secret was once betrayed to her by an old aunt. The latter's son to whom she had applied this expedient, had become messenger for the galon (nobleman and district official). And 844

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
894 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692
fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

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Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783 844

(3) By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual. 608

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

part of whole, and in part of divided lines lying in threes over each other./19/. Further, there are the nine Mewa signs, quadrangles with numbers and in each one the name of one of the five "elements" (fire, water, earth, wood, and iron), in the corresponding five colors: red, blue, yellow, green, and white.

Next to the calendar there lies a large astrological table drawn on canvas, on which, like a chess board, a great number of squares in various colors are drawn up. Each of the colors designates one of the five "elements." Quite a few secret signs can also be seen on the table. We enter the room softly, look over the onpo's shoulder, and observe him and his strange doings. The eyes in the soothsayer's cunning face are rigidly turned upon his tables. His dirty fingers grasp for a pile of little disks (similar to the pieces used on a Checker board) which he arranges on the squares of his magical table. Then he moves these around, to and fro, up and down, according to certain rules, until he has finally filled a number of squares with the disks. Now he turns his gaze to the calendar with the animal and other signs. The onpo is continually mumbling to himself while his eyes and his fingers glide over the magical signs and ciphers. Mostly the sense of the words is obscure to us, but we do catch some sentences and words which give us an inkling as to what his art of soothsaying is aiming: "Fire is the child of wood which gives it food; the connection is harmless. But here! What is this? Ape and Tiger (in the zodiacal circle of the year). These are bitter enemies. That is bad. The years of birth of mother and child agree very badly with their zodiacal signs. This indicates that there will be struggle and misfortune through evil spirits." /Closing quotation mark left out in the text.--translator./ The onpo mumbles again and goes on moving his little disks back and forth on the colored squares. Now he takes out of an old, dirty little leather sack a handful of white and black round counters made of horn (similar to the round play counters of children), then he takes white and black counters one after another and lays them together in separate little piles. Again the lips mumble, the eyes stare intently at the signs, ciphers, and the counters. Then suddenly his eyes light up, and the words come loudly from the mouth of the devil-tamer: "The spirit-exorcising earth dagger has been pulled out of the earth! Woe to you, son of Lobsang Wanggyal! The earth and /20/ water spirits have been released and will cause you harm! And here the Mewa signs are bad. The elements are in conflict with each other. The

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons [789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805
177
6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. 805
In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several 177
days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days.

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1936), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When 805
he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer 787
to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year 177
cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows

177 805 [787] without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other; iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. 805 177 777 822 Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

805 177 The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 cu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 177
1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-śags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cig and se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-śar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas bya = sundown--bird,
20 -22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth. That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn 787

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7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions 775

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mĉod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787 you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789 and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the 'Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787 his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the 436 latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

> near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his 712
> day.

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 553
expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with
the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related
to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first
name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious
Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the
second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by
its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer,
especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under
the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means.
But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy,
wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite
differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert
threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After
three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 553
/sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 712
mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely
shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed
under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered
with carpets. He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese
silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their
order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of
the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried
apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which
the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal
bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands
embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his
blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand.
Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789]
in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated
a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of
this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did
he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little
son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something
which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He
was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563
177 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 000
ff.)

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs 788
another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great
Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with
the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to 000
Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his
apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside
from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining
green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large
turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet.
After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival 551
in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be
called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her
nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great
skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could
never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for
them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name.

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Garra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good
sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages
he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had
turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by 761
the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged
him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a
goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his
limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself
to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just
above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks
at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs.
Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan
by his appearance!

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the court-
yard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation
[262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share
of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten
[783 with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of
inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close
776] to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and
the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have
sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While
789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered
326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-
cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then
old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child
on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking
bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan
or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been
with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep
away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra.
It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant
danger of the evil /26/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!"
The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the
yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near
the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt some-
thing like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child
for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort
was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea
and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small
silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter
into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 852 cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 754 became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatsę and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 751 the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening The

751 The [326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious 783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a [757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama 755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the 783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect." Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa
Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a
cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive
hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on
which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of
the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The
seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the
help of two women watered the field with the love and care with
which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with
great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep.
The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention
and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way
in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread
over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the
slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main
trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the
side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way
up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
[412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably
learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The
watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever
this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and
sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this
manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more
along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped
up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the
rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of
support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches
out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the
most distant, piece of field can be irrigated.

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241 of their fields in one day. 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall et is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must [476] supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often. . . large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator/. . . all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph.--translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241 with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412] but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was 000 often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

/Following page 32/

Tibetan children

/Following page 32/

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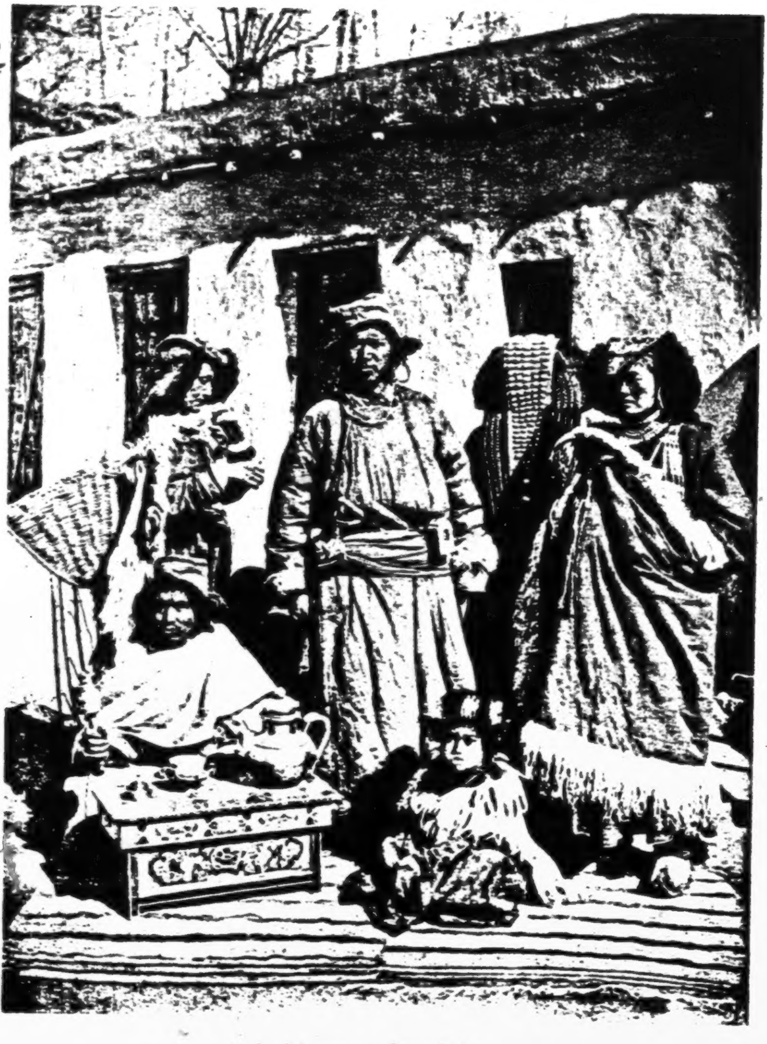

Inhabitants of Ladakh.

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-siṅ, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

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because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain

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and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

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551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

> This wool is spun from the delicate woolly down which the goat has under its coarse outside bristle hair. The Tibetan goats' home is Tibet and neighboring highlands. In Kashmir there is a large, hornless goat which does not possess the fine wool. The Tibetan goat has horns.

herd, and if it does not obey the warning shouts or whistles, then a well-aimed stone from the boy's slingshot whizzes with a loud buzz over it and strikes the boulders close to the goat so that the latter, warned in this way, quickly returns to the herd in a fright. True, it often happens that an animal is hit by the stone and many a limping animal shows the consequences of such unskillful use of the slingshot.

In this manner they slowly climb up to the slope, to the "meadow." Meadow? But where is there a meadow here? Here there is nothing to be seen that remotely resembles the juicy, green pastures and lush mountain meadows of Kashmir or of Lahul, of the highlands situated to the west and to the south. Steep, rocky slopes, marked by jagged boulders and sown with stone blocks, here and there a little tuft or a pad of hard, grey-green desert grass, between the rocks some desert plants and shrubs smelling of strong herbs, that is the "meadow" as this mountain wilderness offers it. But sheep and goat in these regions have practically no demands. With sureness they find out the often quite wooden plants which nevertheless supply them with sufficient nourishment, so that they prosper and remain robust. Climbing, jumping, they look for their food even on the highest rocky peaks and ledges and on the narrowest strip of a cliff. Not infrequently an animal climbs and wanders so far astray that it can move neither forwards nor backwards /36/, and in this way it becomes a helpless victim of the eagle; unless it is discovered by people who, in order not to lose its meat, try to throw large rocks from a nearby rock that can be scaled, so that the animal falls down.

Many dangers threaten man and animals in these high regions. And when Namgyal drove the herd into the mountains for the first time with a few companions of his own age instead of with an adult, the ordinarily plucky boy was a little frightened after all, for he had heard much about the animals of prey of the mountains and about how they are a terror to the herds and to the herders.

The Tibetans have in their Tibetan mastiff a magnificent type of dog which barely stands behind the Saint Bernard in size and strength and which is easily trained to be a shepherd dog. But the Tibetan is

231 not satisfied with that, even though these enormous dogs are able to do battle with any wolf. Thus the care for the protection of the herd rests solely upon the herder, whose only weapons are stick and slingshot. It was not to be a long time before Namgyal was to get an [136] impression of the activity of the wolves. One day, when he had lain down for a little while around noon time with his companion, just below an overhanging rock which supplied a protection against the scorching rays of the sun--most of the small animals of the herd had done the same and were resting here and there in the shadow of boulders, chewing the cud--suddenly just as if lightning had struck the herd, two wolves had, without being noticed, crept up between the mass of boulders, had seized a sheep and a goat and with their prey in their mouths they were making off. The two youthful herders jumped up, stoutly remained on their post, shouted after the robbers and threw large stones after them which, however, did not prevent the latter in the least from securing their prey.

[136] Another time an imperial eagle struck a small kid scarcely twenty paces away from Namgyal and carried it through the air away to its nest which was located high up in the ravine, out in the open, on a narrow projection of a perpendicular slate wall. From an adjoining rock the boys had been able to see into the nest in which a single young eagle was lying.

/37/ When in the evening Namgyal with a wildly beating heart told his father about the wolf's raid of the herd, the father did not say much and only admonished him to keep a good lookout; he knew only too well how rarely even a courageous herder succeeds in keeping the wolf away from the herd or in chasing it so that it must let go of the prey it once seized. He remembered that during such an attempt a wolf had once attacked him and had bitten his elbow, which he had held out against it, so viciously that even now he still felt frequent pains in his joint. On this occasion Lobsang Wanggyal [136] told his son how once yonder in Tagmachig during the winter a snow leopard (irbis or ounce, felis uncia) broke into a sheep stall and in one night strangled 26 sheep and goats. The robber hardly ate anything of the flesh of the animals; in the morning the startled farmer found the snow leopard still in the stall. It had been unable to get out because it could not open the door which had slammed shut from the inside. The animal was so drunk from the drinking of such quantities of blood that the farmer, together with two neighbors whom he had called in for help, was able to beat it to death with clubs and axes.

Whenever a snow leopard committed its outrages in a region, 136 as often happened in winter, it became advisable to avoid this region altogether for a while and rather to look for a new pasturing area. Bears and leopards, which did not inhabit his homeland, Namgyal did not become acquainted with until later during his travels to Kashmir and Lahul, where he had ample experience with them. He had a sharp eye for the doings of all animals and he observed them closely. More than once wild sheep had approached his goats and sheep while pasturing at the mountain without particularly taking notice of him. These wild sheep were fine animals almost the size of stags, of the brown color of deer, the old rams had horns which in their winding measured about 70 centimeters. Ibexes also approached sometimes with greater caution. Numerous flocks of rock-partridges enlivened the otherwise so barren mountain slopes, especially in the vicinity of the cultivated village oases; and from the cliffs up there near the snow field there frequently resounded the long drawn-out whistle of the snow pheasant (slope hen /rock-partridge?/). Great swarms of blue mountain doves nested in the precipitous walls, with their many caves, over there beyond the Indus, and in the /38/ air the mighty imperial eagles and the lammergeiers circled around. There was a colorful variety of small feathered inhabitants of these heights, from the wall-creeper, which climbs along rock faces like a woodpecker on a tree, and the wheat ear, which hops along between the boulders of the slope amid continual bobbing and gay twittering, to the many-colored, white-capped redstarts in the bottom of the valley and the sand martin in its simple blackish dress which dives after larvae down at the roaring brook. All these animals, and many more which inhabit the waste 775 heights and highland plateaus attracted Namgyal's attention with their activities, aroused his thirst for knowledge, and stimulated his imagination; all the more so since a lama had recently taught him that all forms of life, even the lowest, are beings that are in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and are striving for their final release but must always be embodied again in many different forms as a punishment for their sins. Since then Namgyal observed attentively the herd animals of the village and frequently asked himself which of the animals might lodge the souls of his grandfather and of his deceased aunt; but he did not dare ask anyone about it. The lama had made indications to that effect.

Did Namgyal also have an eye for the wonderful sublimity of 000 the mountain scenery of his homeland? A Tibetan hardly ever expresses

00 himself on this point. And what a picture there lay before his view spread out on these heights, a picture of tremendous, wild beauty! Over valleys, gorges and crevices, wildly jagged mountain chains and ridges, the vista sweeps along to the distant mountain faces yonder in the west, which shine in all colors from bright red to violet in the clear, glaring sunshine of these heights with their thin, dry air. Over there to the right there is a very extensive snow field whose melting water the brook carries down into the valley. To the left there are two mountain peaks crowned with glaciers. Over it all there is the arch of the deep blue, cloudless sky. A wonderful silence prevails in this wild mountain world into which Namgyal drove his herd, a silence which is only now and then interrupted by the bleating of a goat, the scream of the chough among the cliffs, the howling of a wolf yonder by the slope of the mountain.

/39/ No person can escape the stupendous impression of the majesty of this world of mountains; here live and rule supernatural powers; here divinity approaches directly the feeble man who penetrates into this empire; it lives in the towering cliff, in the glacier which on the heights embraces the tremendous mountain caps in its clutch, in the plant which grows forth from the cracks in the rock; the deity speaks from the brook which cleaves its roaring way through the rocky wall; it speaks from the tempestuous south wind which sweeps howling into the valley from the high mountains, as well as from the avalanche of rocks which looses itself from the precipice and roars thundering into the depths below.

55 Namgyal's receptive spirit could not possibly avoid these impressions. He was a plucky boy, a courageous climber and rider. Because of his courage in the brawls with his companions the latter had given him the nickname "Jigsmed" (Without-fear).

000 During the day the boy wandered through the mountains and the valleys without apprehension in spite of the wolves who are present everywhere, whenever it was necessary to look for a lost sheep. But when dusk settled down on the series of chasms and dark shadows spread out over mountain and slopes, our "Without-fear" was overcome by a secret terror. Then the jagged rocks and peaks turned into a thousand shapes which stretched their arms threateningly at him, and at this time voices became loud which had been silent during the day. From the plateau yonder he could hear the howling of the wolves, in the ravine there to the left a fox was barking, over there from the old ruin of [136] the Darden castle there resounded the call of the screech owl, and sounds

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling 000
of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened
by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly
moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At
those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see
that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving
their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending
upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time
searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up
by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered
Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else?
Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round [776]
head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red
eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It
was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get
home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose 538
favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying
things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what
kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She
answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody
knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows
the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa
(16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is
known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill.
Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man [164]
in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for
this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller
as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation
ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At
the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

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16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the 776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered [782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis- [789] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and [782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex- 776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible. 783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should 776 burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a 783 bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the ✓ outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again."

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening 776 twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death.

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase [753] along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore [754] he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/. there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

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20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

76 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing a cap and carrying a stick The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of their child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

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[804] 21. 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been
placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her
three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a
loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed
by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while
in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of
enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in
the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order
to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers"
constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted
his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic
divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly
gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark
he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting
place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by
pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old
storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought
he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind,
in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of
the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her
furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous
boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no
desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated
by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once
during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an ex-
tended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied
with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them
at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geo-
graphical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented
scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was
particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which
preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

as a human being in the most different classes of society, as a nymph, as a water devil with an elephant's head, as an animal (lion, antelope, king of the rats, wood frog, vulture, crow, and so on); but in all these different states of existence he nevertheless always remained the Bodhisattva (23) who strives for release and who distinguishes himself by doing good, the being which is filled and led by love and compassion for all fellow beings.

The following is one of these stories about the pre-birth of the Buddha (Jataka /45/ narratives). Once the Bodhisattva, the later Gautama Buddha, was born as a king's son in India. One day he went for a walk in the jungle with his following. There he encountered a tigress with her young cub, who showed all signs of exhaustion. She seemed close to starvation. Filled by strong love and compassion, the prince left his retinue behind and went up to the tigress and lay down before her in order to have her tear him to pieces. But the animal was too exhausted and too tired to do so. Thereupon the king's son took a stone and scratched his skin in various places so that the blood came forth. Now the tigress licked the blood that welled forth and in so doing she was sufficiently strengthened so that she was able to consume her benefactor. The latter, however, on the basis of this new good deed, advanced another great step further on the way towards perfection, the way towards final complete salvation.

In the most widely different forms of existence Gautama sacrificed himself in this way for the benefit of other creatures. Once, when he was reborn in hell, he even released himself from damnation by expressing pity for the tortures of another damned being. Another

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23 A Bodhisattva is a completely divine being which by its efforts, continued through many births, to achieve release from the bonds of terrestrial existence through striving after virtue and the performance of good works, has finally arrived at illumination (Bodhi) and with that at the expectancy of salvation by being blown away into nirvana. Out of pity for the living beings who are still suffering in the cycle of rebirths, the Bodhisattva as yet renounces his final dissolution in order to participate in the work of releasing those beings (human beings, animals, gods, and so on). Thus Gautama Buddha was a Bodhisattva until his "extinction" in nirvana.

time Gautama was born in India as a fox with a valuable fur. The reigning prince of the land saw this fox in a dream and ordered his hunters to get him this fur at any price. He threatened his huntsmen that they would all lose their lives if his wish should remain unfulfilled. Since the rajah was known to be cruel and unscrupulous, the threat aroused great fear among all the hunters. Meanwhile one of them was so lucky as to encounter the fox. The hunter had scarcely made preparations to catch the fox when the latter came up to him and surrendered himself into the hands of the hunter. But he made the condition to the hunter that he should not kill him but that he should skin him alive so that the sin of killing him might not rest as a burden on the hunter. By this the Bodhisattva saved the lives of all hunters in the country. The next consequence of this act of self-sacrifice was that thousands of flies, ants, and other insects settled on the skinned fox and consumed it. Such extraordinary acts attracted the attention of the gods and of all living beings, earthquakes and other natural phenomena /46/ broadcast them throughout the world, a rain of flowers fell down upon the Bodhisattva. And again he rose up another step on the way to perfection and release. 773

As fantastic as many of these stories were, they nevertheless made a deep impression upon Namgyal's sensitive mind which was oriented towards the religious. He thought a great deal about these matters, especially while tending the sheep and goats in the solitude of the mountains.

Sometimes Konchog Trashi also told Namgyal fairytales for the latter's pleasure and for that of other listeners. So one day the old man told him the following tale. 539

The Fairytale of the Sly Fox, the Wolf and the Bear

The fox had already done much mischief and by sly means he had succeeded in killing the wolf, the bear, yes, even the lion, the king of the animals. Then one day there appeared a wolf and a bear, relatives of the killed, before the lion, the new king, and indicted the evil fox for his outrageous deeds. The king ordered them to bring the criminal before him. They found the fox and he went with them part of the way, even though he was very much afraid.

On the way to the judge they encountered a lama (monk) who was riding on his horse with his parasol opened up. On his back he was carrying the bag which contained his provisions for the journey. The lama's feet were shod with large, red cloth boots. Then the fox said: "You wolf and you, bear! Look! We will take the parasol and the bag away from the lama." The other two answered: "Well, how should we go about doing that?" Then the fox answered: "We shall do it in this way: I shall pretend I am lame, [illegible] shall limp along in front of the lama's horse. Then the lama will think that he can eaily grab me and he will dismount from his horse; he will put aside his parasol and his bag in order to be able to catch me more easily. Then you must come quickly, take the parasol and bag and run off. I shall then come to you again quickly!" Now the fox ran in front of the lama's horse limping miserably /47/. The monk, believing the fox to be lame, got off his horse, laid his parasol, his bag, and his heavy boots aside and ran after the limping fox. The latter at first let the lama get close to him and then he suddenly ran off at great speed. The bear and the wolf seized the parasol, the bag, and the boots, ran with them up the mountain and there met again with the fox. Now the lama returned completely exhausted, looked in vain for his belongings and finally mounted his horse with bare feet and completely dejected.

Then the fox said to the bear: "You bear! How glad your children would be with the parasol! Why don't you take it home with you!" And to the wolf the fox said: "You wolf! That you may be able to run better when you are chasing goats take these boots with you! Tie them firmly to your feet with strong laces then you will be able to run as fast as the wind and you will catch every goat." "And by the way, you bear! When you get to your children, open up the parasol! The children will enjoy that tremendously. Meanwhile I shall rest a little here and eat some flour porridge from the lama's bag."--"Yes, but after all we were supposed to go to the lion together first," his companions remonstrated. "Yes, yes, that's quite true," rejoined the fox, "but first why don't you just put the lama's boots on once and catch a goat as an experiment, you wolf! And you, bear! Why don't you first go to your children quickly with the parasol. You will see how much fun they are going to have with that thing."

Thereupon the two went off in good faith. The wolf tied the boots firmly to his feet. Soon thereafter he encountered a herd of goats and wanted to pounce on a goat. But the big heavy boots of the lama hindered him in running, the herders came to the spot and with their clubs they beat the wolf to death.

The bear came to his cave full of expectation, and with the parasol opened up he proudly marched to his children who jumped

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw
his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]
free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a
great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

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24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

25. A kind of hockey game.

/Following page 48/

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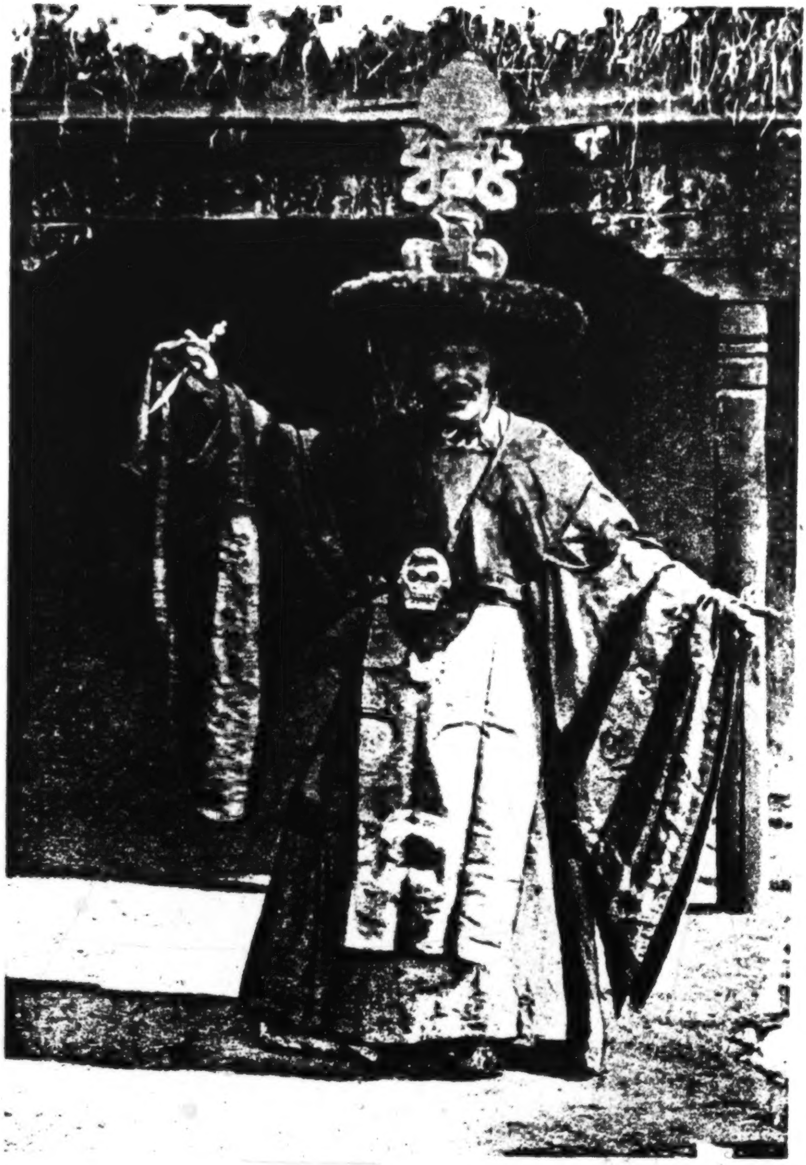

An onpo (soothsayer) and magician

/Following page 48/

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The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk.

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling 651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often. Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still 876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing.
They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with
wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters
Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read
and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written
script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys
a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical
cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The
rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the
old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the
ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an
end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the
country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant
men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed
rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated
and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an
Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian
district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse,
and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now
here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind
recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible
means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority
of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no
desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say,
despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were
unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more
important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer
has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage
and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his
father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep
and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony
field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

868 spin thread on the hand spindle from coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which the village weaver then wove strong blankets and sacks. He sat firmly in the saddle and was a good polo player (26). Soon Namgyal was superior to his elders in matter of practical common sense and caution, in industry and in courage, the latter probably an inheritance from his fathers, some of whom had proved themselves valiant heroes in the wars against the neighboring Baltis and the Dogras, an /52/ inheritance probably, also, from his energetic grandmother Tsering Putrid.

[illegible] At the same time Namgyal had a strong tendency towards the religious, a tendency which, however, always remained unsatisfied. He often pondered over religious questions and brooded about the meaning of existence, the nature of the karma, the transmigration of souls, about the "eight-fold path" of release which Buddha had shown to his disciples, about the salvation activities of the Buddhistic "saviors"; but he also thought about the order of the monks and about the priests and their doings. But as often as he asked his teacher, the Lama Dondrub, and as often as he asked an explanation of deeper questions, the latter would put him off with a few superficial observations saying that he could not understand these matters yet; so that the young man's questions and the desires of his heart remained unsatisfied. The behavior and conduct of the greedy, sensual lama who was also given to drinking, was of such a kind that the belief of the young Namgyal in these members of the "Sacred Community of Monks," to whom he was supposed to look up with reverence and awe as a pious Buddhist, became severely shaken. And his longing for peace and freedom remained unstilled. Even the well-intentioned instructions of the pious hermit Tsetan were unable to satisfy him.

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[526] 26. In the mountains of the Himalayas a riding game, polo, has been preserved. It originated with the ancient Persians and was subsequently introduced into their courts by the Byzantine emperors. For a long time the game appeared to be forgotten until the Mogul emperors of India again discovered it among certain mountain peoples and introduced it anew into their courts. This ball game on horseback makes tremendous demands upon the agility and adroitness of the rider as well as upon the speed and suppleness of the horse.

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DROGPA NAMGYAL'S WEDDING

THE SEARCH FOR A BRIDE AND MATCH-MAKING

Discussions About Arrangements

"Beers"

Namgyal was now almost one and a half year cycles (18 years) old, and as such he had long since entered the marriageable age, according to the conception of the peoples of the East. He could have married three or four years earlier, but in the Dragshos house early marriage was not favored. Namgyal had taken a liking to pretty Trashi Rolma from the neighboring house of the Pahnpa. They had grown up and played together, had driven the goats into the mountains and gathered wood for fuel together; they had met almost every day in the village or in the field, and it seemed arranged between the two even without many words that they would some day become man and wife. So, too, thought many wise women of the neighborhood. But they hadn't reckoned with the host, that is to say the p'as-pun, the close relatives, and above all grandmother Tsering Putrid. They had quite different plans.

One evening in late autumn, after the wheat harvest had been brought in, the grain had been threshed and stored away in the granary, and, at a moment when there was time for such matters, the family council came together to discuss this important matter. Aside from the parents and the grandmother there were also gathered together two uncles who likewise belonged to the p'as-pun as well as a few other men from the neighborhood, members of the tribe. Amid the expenditure of many words and much beer (chang) (27) they discussed the problem /54/ of whom Namgyal should marry. He himself was not consulted in this argument.

At first Namgyal's mother, Palskyid, risked a timid attempt to support his marriage to Trashi Rolma. She contended that she was a good girl and that no one could say anything bad about her; that she was

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27. The Tibetans brew a beer (chang, ĉan) from barley which is boiled, whereupon a leaven (p'abs) is added to the extract. After the fluid has fermented it gives off a somewhat sour beer which has an intoxicating effect.

58 industrious and knew something about the mangement of a household and of fields; that one never saw her without the tsepo (the little carrying basket) on her back, a sign of how active she was in the gathering of fuel; in the evening she was always to be seen at home, she did not wander about like certain other girls, and--the two also liked each other. But with this she had little luck. Tsering Putrid, her mother-in-law, interrupted her and said: "Oh, what nonsense you are prattling. You know nothing about these matters! Nothing can come of those two. I do not want to say anything against Trashi Rolma; she may be a very nice girl. And her parents, our neighbors in the Pahnpa house, are sensible, pious people; but Trashi Rolma is no bride for my grandson. Her father is only a small farmer, he has only one horse which is blind in one eye, two cows and only about twenty sheep and goats; his field holdings are only average and they have a bad location. It is also whispered about that the Pahnpa owes the monastery Lamayuru 200 khal (1 khal equals 45 liters) of grain. And what is worst of all: [563] in the veins of the Pahnpa there is Drogpa blood. The grandmother of Trashi Rolma was a Drogmo (aBrog-mo, a woman from the Aryan tribe of the despised Drogpa) from Dah (28), and you know that we Bodpa (Tibetans) have nothing in common with the Drogpas. Our race, the Dragshos, is an old, distinguished race; it belonged to the officials' nobility at the time of the Ladakh kings. I was actually supposed to have had a galon (nobleman) for husband, but since my father had lost a great deal of his property and was no longer wealthy, the galon got the other one who could bring a larger dowry with her. In no case may a Drogmo come into this house as a bride."

The relatives and p'as-pun could not remain uninfluenced by these weighty considerations. Mother Palskyid did not dare make any more objections. Namgyal, who had been standing by the door listening, heard with painful feelings how they went over his wishes and on to the agenda. There followed a discussion that lasted for hours /55/ and which became all the more excited as the chang flowed ever more plentifully. The women were ceaselessly pouring the beer for the men with a ladle into their little wooden drinking bowls which stood in front of them on the small, low tables, as soon as the bowls were so much as half empty. That was the custom. Nobody was supposed to be able to count how many kore (little bowls) he had drunk.

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28. Dah--a village on the upper Indus River which is entirely populated by the Aryan Drogpa (Dards).

Someone suggested as a bride Palmo from the house of the Oilman (sNum-pa); she was a good girl and industrious, he suggested, and the property of her father was considerable and free of debt. But she too, was not agreeable to Tsering Putrid. She admitted that the girl was industrious and--so far as one knew--free of blame, but she was ugly and thick-set "like a chorten," and stupid as an ass; she would not do for her handsome and intelligent grandson. Moreover she was a blabbermouth. To her applied the proverb: The thundering cloud has [538] no rain, the garrulous girl--no wedding. "Yes, talkativeness in general," said Tsering Putrid, "there are also blabbermouths among the men"; and in so saying she shot a glance at Bandhepa who was always swaggering. "Another proverb says: A big river has no ford, big words have no content!" This did not really fit into the argument, but the old woman was annoyed that Bandhepa made himself so important. With this the others agreed again and so Palmo was also finished as the future bride.

Finally, after long arguments back and forth, uncle Stobsldan ("the strong one"), the brother of Lobsang Wanggyal, declared: "I know a suitable bride. The daughter of the wealthy farmer Norbu Wangchug (Precious stone--the mighty one) in Tingmogang (29). Her father owns two houses with the fields that belong to them, which all have a good location, as well as a lot of cattle; he also carries on exchange trade with the nomads Jangtang; he lends grain and money"--"at usurious rates" a voice interrupted him. "Quiet!" the others shouted. "He is the wealthiest man in the entire district." Bandhepa objected that there was all kinds of talk about that girl, Chosskyid; she was supposed to be frivolous, she was supposed to go around with young men, and other things of the kind. "Ah," said Tsang Sodnam, Namgyal's maternal uncle, "it won't be that bad; such a young, pretty girl likes to have her fun once in a while, and if one /56/ wanted to be sure that a girl was completely blameless one could search throughout Ladakh, in all the villages and drogs (outposts), and one would scarcely be able to find one. And moreover," and in saying this he looked at Bandhepa with a shrewd and malicious smile, "if a yak should run over your face [538] you would not see it; but if a louse runs across someone else's face then you see it immediately." (30) At that Bandhepa was silent, the others

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29. Tingmogang--a large village in Lower Ladakh.

30. Tibetan proverb. Compare Matthew 7.3

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with ~~the~~ tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred 584 to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the [804] things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success.

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses. [552]

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suitor from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But this marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people. As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father. At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

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The Asking Beer (36)

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[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind. 431

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the

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[576]

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37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

584 men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of [31] things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

Tsang Sodnam and both laughed secretly. "No, gentlemen, this marriage cannot take place. You will have to look for another bride for Namgyal; after all, there are enough girls in Lower Ladakh. Chosskyid is designated for another man." With these words Norbu Wangchug turned to the men of his tribe who answered with a dead-serious "drig yin (so it is)."

"Yes," Tsang Sodnam now objected, "it is admittedly true that it will be pure graciousness on your part if you give your daughter as a bride to the boy. But you must not say that he and his parents are such bad people. You may inquire in all of Lower Ladakh, and you will only hear them praised as "from one throat." The Dragshos are pious (39) and respectable people. And just think of the wonderful property they have in fields and cattle. All of you know quite well about that!"

At these words Stobsldan placed a beautiful coral necklace with [431]
silver decorations on the little tea table in front of old Norbu which the latter pretended not to notice at all. All the more did the eyes of the tribe of the Chirpon, especially those of the women present, secretly examine and evaluate the necklace. Argument and counter-argument went back and forth. The beer flowed plentifully into the throats just as the words flowed forth from them in abundance; at first all talking, sueing and praising seemed to fail through the stubborn resistance of Norbu Wangchug /61/ who time and time again brought forth the argument of the "brilliant matches" which his Chosskyid could make. But towards the end of the damp-hot session, after the woman Deskyid, the wife of Norbu Wangchug, had whispered all sorts of things to her husband and after the p'as-pun had brought the old man somewhat to his senses in muted conversations by admonishing him finally to desist from boasting about the brilliant prospects of his daughter and telling him that nobody, after all, cared for those "distinguished suitors" of whom he was constantly speaking, and that the Dragshos son was a son-in-law who was not to be despised; after all this, finally, the father mumbled something between his lips made heavy by beer, which sounded like "talk about it once more." And when the two matchmakers finally arose with great difficulty as darkness was descending, their heads and limbs were heavy from beer and talk; but their hearts were light. Mother Deskyid had taken the necklace

39. Tibetan: dkon-mĉog-la ajigs-mk'an.

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-ĉan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon 776 who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (śan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since 000 that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a rapid amble to their home. In the house of Dragshos there was great 000 rejoicing over the result of the matchmaking, which finally could not be ignored even by the one who was most closely concerned by it: Drogpa Namgyal.

Again at the Soothsayer's

Yet there was still a great anxiety to be banished for Lobsang 787 Wanggyal: How would the gods and the demons be disposed towards the intended marriage? This could again only be found out by the soothsayer and astrologist Dordje Dud-joms, the devil-tamer, so he had been told. The day immediately following the carrying over of the asking beer Lobsang Wanggyal rode to Lamayuru to the soothsayer, for the first time in a long while. Since the time of the birth horoscope for his son, the Dragshos had carefully avoided the man; the latter had overdone things a little at that time with his calculation of misfortune, and the idea had dawned upon the Dragshos that there always existed a certain relationship between this activity and the /63/ money bag of the person who commissioned it. But one could scarcely go about arranging such an important matter as a marriage in the family without consulting the onpo at all. Who else knows how to read fate in the stars and to interpret the dark signs the way the onpo does? The latter had certainly noticed that the Dragshos had avoided him in the last few years and he was probably determined to be careful this time. It did not pay to spoil things with the Dragshos and his tribe. One should not lose such good customers.

The devil-tamer went to work immediately after the Dragshos had left his cell. He compared the horoscopes at birth of the prospective couple and tested to see whether the zodiacal signs of the years of birth, the elements and the constellations were in a friendly, hostile or neutral relationship to each other, whether the astrological signs for life, body, power, and "wind horse" (lun-rta) (40) of the two were favorable and harmonized with each other or whether they were hostile

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40. A mythical horse which carries on its back the valuable [777] wishing gem (Tibetan, yid bźin nor-bu; Sanskrit cintamani) and which is supposed to bring people wealth and happiness. The "wishing horse" is often seen on prayer flags, magical pieces of paper, and the like, on which it is drawn.

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' trees in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42)

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A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 - footnote 43 - - analyst]

/Following page 64/

792
789

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

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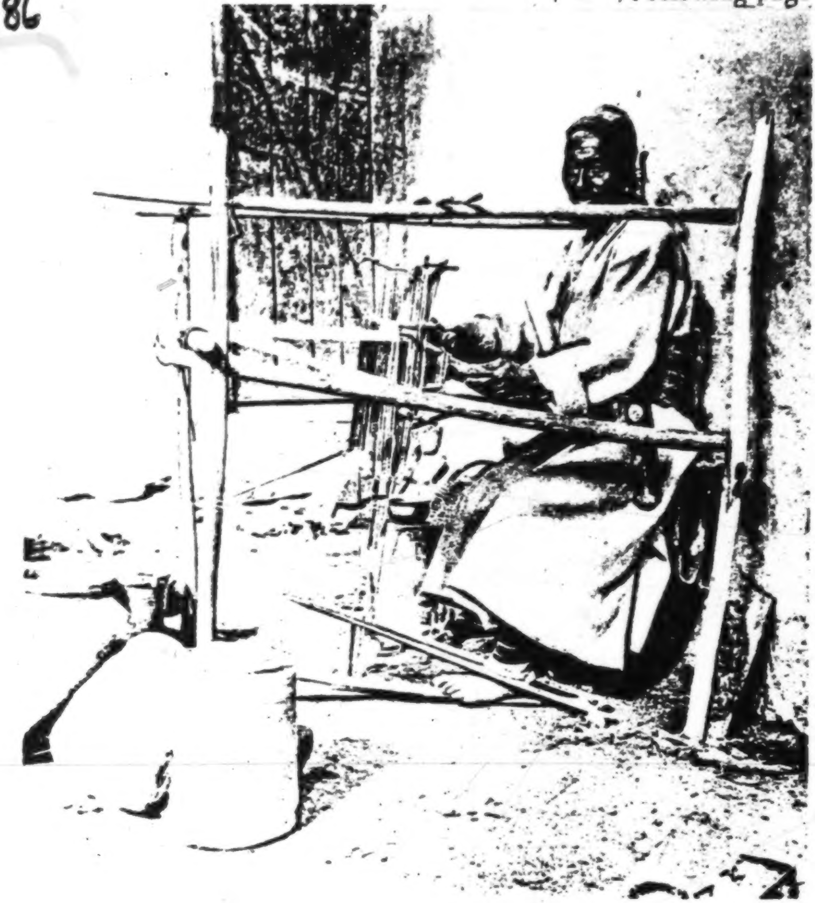
/Following page 64/



"At the weaver's loom.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

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584 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

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576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica.. [137]

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

[436] 47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown 583
faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly 584
loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts

Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

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48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mĉog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

583 your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger
584 brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sullen smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.
/70/ First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

So full, like the leaves of the turquoise willow (51).

51. Which of the various types of willow that are to be found in the valleys of the Himalayas is meant, is impossible to tell Perhaps one is to think of the "yellow willow" (lcan-ser) which has light green ("turquois-colored") leaves and yellow twigs.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your companion, I know not.
A maiden passed by, shining like the moon
As it can shine only on the fifteenth (52).

52. Around the 15th of the month of the moon year, there is a full moon.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden with eyebrows so fine,
They looked like a double naro sign (53).

53. The sign of the Tibetan vowel O (called naro), is reminiscent in shape of eyebrows.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a maiden with teeth white as milk,
That did gleam like pearls.
First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden, her waist was slim
As the thunderbolt handle (54) of the bell so smooth.

54. The handle of the bell (dril-bu) used by the lamas at the

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunderbolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the lama magicians. 533 539

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward. 000

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55) ([illegible])

55. Tibetan t'ig-ĉan and nyen-ćan. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 585 431

585 431 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side. Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige) Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind.

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

showed herself beautifully dressed in the door of the room but then she disappeared again into an adjacent room for the remainder of the festivities.

The Consultation and the Ordering Beer (57)

57. Tibetan drabs-ĉan and bcol-ĉan.

Again a month passed by. The Kalatse family were pressing for haste with the wedding. They did not trust the old fox Norbu Wangchug, because with his greed he might again come with greater demands and overthrow all their plans. And so the Dragshos people soon gathered for their consultation beer. This time they were among themselves, without the Chirpon /73/ people. There the worthy men were again seated in a long row on the felt carpets along the two walls of the living room-kitchen; at the head was the lonpo from Domkhar, a tall, slender man of advanced years with an intelligent face which betrayed strong Aryan racial characteristics. Next to him sat the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, then there followed a number of relatives and men of the clan. After everyone had emptied a few bowls of beer and a song had been sung, Lobsang Wanggyal got up, took a copper plate from the smoke-blackened wooden shelf on the wall, on which there lay some heaped-up grains of barley. On top of this he placed a piece of Tibetan paper which had been lightly rolled together and wound about with a tsanpa (greeting ribbon). Then he solemnly placed the plate with the paper on the little table in front of the lonpo without saying a word. The latter pretended not to notice anything, did not blink an eyelash, sat pondering for a while, took a deep draught of beer from the bowl, seized the paper, and said, interrupting the general silence: "You gentlemen! We have come together in order to consult with each other how we can help our friend and relative, the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, since he wants to bring a bride to his son. You all know that this is an expensive proposition which one person alone cannot manage. Therefore we, his relatives and members of the tribe, must help. The Dragshos' cause must be our cause. As the proverb says: 'Joy, sorrow--turn of the goats, turn of the cows' (58). Just as the turn for guarding the goats or the cows in our village

58. Tibetan Skyid-sdug ra-res ba-res.

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

> "Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa." 584

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/ The Wedding (61) ( )

> 61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag. 585

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

585 capital Leh and its surroundings; hardly anyone declined the invitation; they came together from places removed by three or four days' journey. After all, it was winter and everybody had time, for the work in the fields and in the summer places was at a standstill. At such times every change was welcome, and most of all a wedding in the house of a rich person. The Chirpon wanted to have a magnificent wedding, that they knew.

242 All the guests came dressed in their best festive clothing. Anyone who did not have a good suit--there were also some poor people among those invited--borrowed one from his neighbor who was better off and at least bought himself a new, bright red, green or blue cap, wrapped a new, brightly patterned long sash around his hips, and tied a white "handkerchief" onto the left side of the sash, less for practical use than for ornament. The women and the girls had put on their festive trinkets and garments: dresses in red, blue or green, with colored sashes and fur coverings, many turquoise and silver ornaments with which one tried to outdo the other.

585 Long before the winter sun had gone up in the Indus valley, which is very narrow here, the five best men, the Nyaopas, led by the sNatridpa and the Trashispa (bkra-śis-pa), appeared in the Dragshos house. They were all handsome young fellows dressed in colored cloth suits; each one had a long white or red shawl placed around his shoulders and wore on his head the pointed cone-shaped hat of the Nyaopas, covered with fine, glittering metal threads. These were joined by five /following p. 76 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle "Tibetan women in Ladakh (Original Tibetan drawing)."/ /77/ girls (dpa-mo, called "heroines") of the circle of relatives and of the clan, and five other fellows (dpa-bo, "heroes") for the bride's following. After all of them had been amply regaled with butter tea and flat bread cakes early in the morning in the chansa (living room-kitchen) and after they had danced there--the fellows by themselves and the girls by themselves--all of them got ready for the procession in order to fulfill their function at the wedding celebration, which was to take place during the day in the bride's house in Tingmogang.

Then the company breaks up in order to set out on the way to Tingmogang. The procession is headed by a pair from the group of dpa-bo and dpa-mo (neither of them may be orphans). The boy carries a clay dish with glimmering frankincense whose smell is intended to please the gods; the girl carries a brass beer jug at whose upper rim the usual lumps of butter are stuck on in a circle. The sNatridpa follows

/Following page 76/

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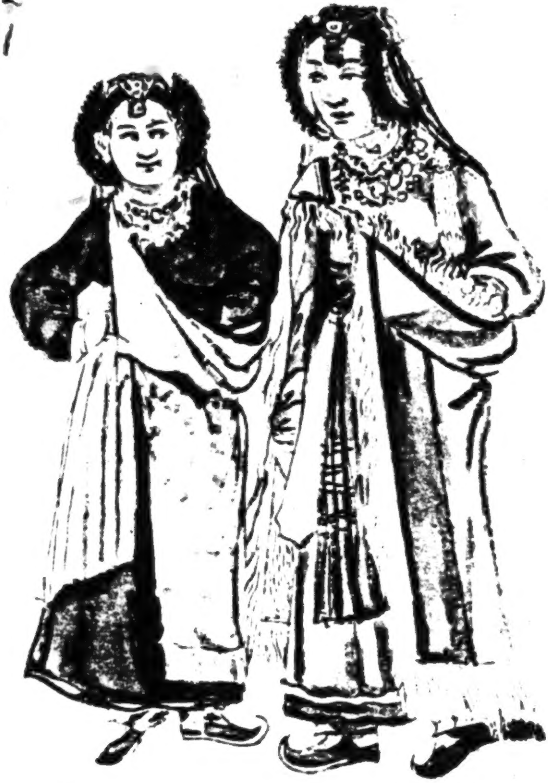

Tibetan women in Ladakh

(Original Tibetan drawing).

with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well. 585

585 789 Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p̓'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol,
gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You,
god, have conquered (the hostile demons).'"

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been
held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the
gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a
whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily
laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour,
meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the
valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large
double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to
take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before
them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here
and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now
in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with
snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug,
the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting
open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better
built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None
of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep
path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From
all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu,
no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have
arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his
existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same
thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon
house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. [776] Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left.

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which the latter answer by likewise singing a song. 585 533 As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes, Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

[773] 64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773] 65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4 /are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest.
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

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The Nyaopas answer from outside:

Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds
/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/
We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye snaps,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

/Following page 80/

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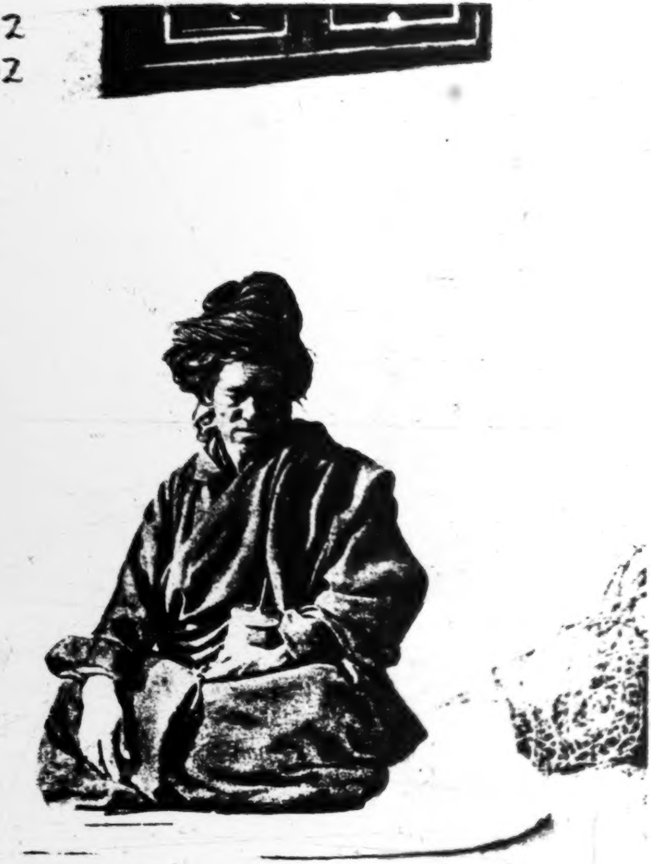

The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

/Following page 80/

Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders.

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole,
And we slipped through that.

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The people of the Chirpon house:

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

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The Nyaopas answer:

Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

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Behold the twig: it is of gold!
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73).

73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585

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75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

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The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),

77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood, from
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

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Beat us with that rod!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured.
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

Perches White Falcon. 585
Do not harm his nest 533
Nor his iron egg! 539
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges
(83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's
grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves
them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]
They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North
Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

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Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
Where distinguished parentage is paired
With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood.--
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),
The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

585 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95) The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

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94. Tibetan dkon-mĉog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and

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the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed. 585

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

ascends the stone steps into the large living room-kitchen. There, at the door, three people again block their way: the (hired) cook (gsol-dpon) with a pot of tea in his hand, his female assistant (zan-ma) with a plate of rice, and the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma) with a filled brass beer jug. By paying a tribute of half a rupee to each the sNatridpa finally buys an entry into the living room-kitchen for the entire company of Kalatse relatives and friends.

Uncle Stobsldan now has someone give him a large, tin-plated copper plate while the others stand around engaged in lively conversation. On this plate he puts a few handfuls of barley grains and around the edge he puts in a circle the 50 žo (240 rupees), the stipulated "price of the mother milk," and further 20 rupees as a contribution to the first wedding celebration. On top of this the men from Kalatse carry in several rolls of Tibetan cloth, a large quantity of greeting cloths, two sacks of wheat, two sacks of barley. Everything is put down on or next to the hearth.

The relatives of the bridegroom then greet the bride's parents ceremoniously by bowing deeply before them, touching their own foreheads with the tips of their fingers: "Žu, žu! Please accept these little gifts graciously, which we poor people presume to offer the noble parents of the bride." With these words Stobsldan, in the name of Lobsang Wanggyal, hands over the gifts and the purchasing price of the bride. Norbu Wangchug acknowledges them briefly with the words: "Thank you, thank you, noble people! It is gracious (of you)!" and now invites the Dragshos people and their tribe to go to the place of celebration, a large field terrace from which the snow has been carefully shovelled and swept away. Frankincense is always carried ahead /92/ and finally it is set up on the terrace in front of the open tent that has been put up there, to supply a "sweet savor" to men and gods. Inside the tent beautiful yarkand carpets are spread out for the guests of superior rank, and at both ends, in the shape of a horseshoe closed towards the outside, ordinary goat and yak hair blankets are laid out for the more lowly guests. Norbu Wangchug shows his guests to their places with politeness but nevertheless with a certain condescension. At the top the galon from Leh, next to him the lonpo from Domkhar, then two lamas from the bride's circle of relatives, the bridegroom, his father and his two uncles, the five Nyaopas, then Norbu Wangchug, the bride's father and a few of his brothers-in-law, the magistrates of Teya-Tingmogang and of Domkhar, and further the members of both tribes ranged according to rank and dignity, neighbors and friends;

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted. 585 782

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

585 hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the
782 monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like 585
cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them 782
except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people.

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the 585
Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, 585
and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the 535
cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment.

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97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

585 533 539 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

821 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar myth. [773]

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuñs, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small.
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

/Following page 96/

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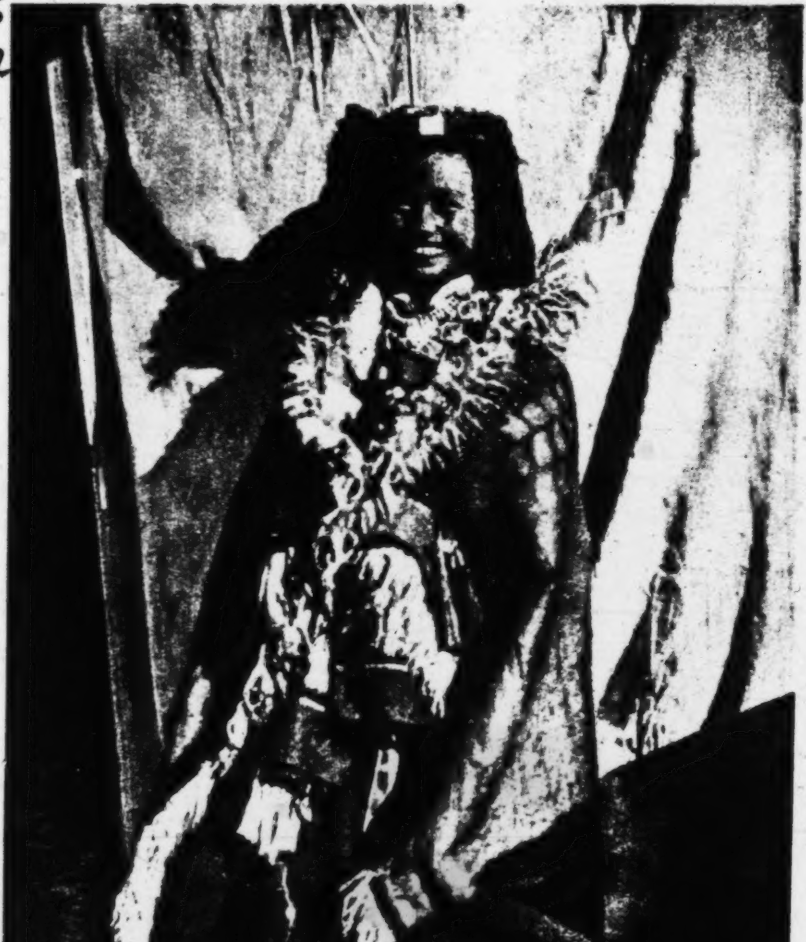

Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)

/Following page 96/

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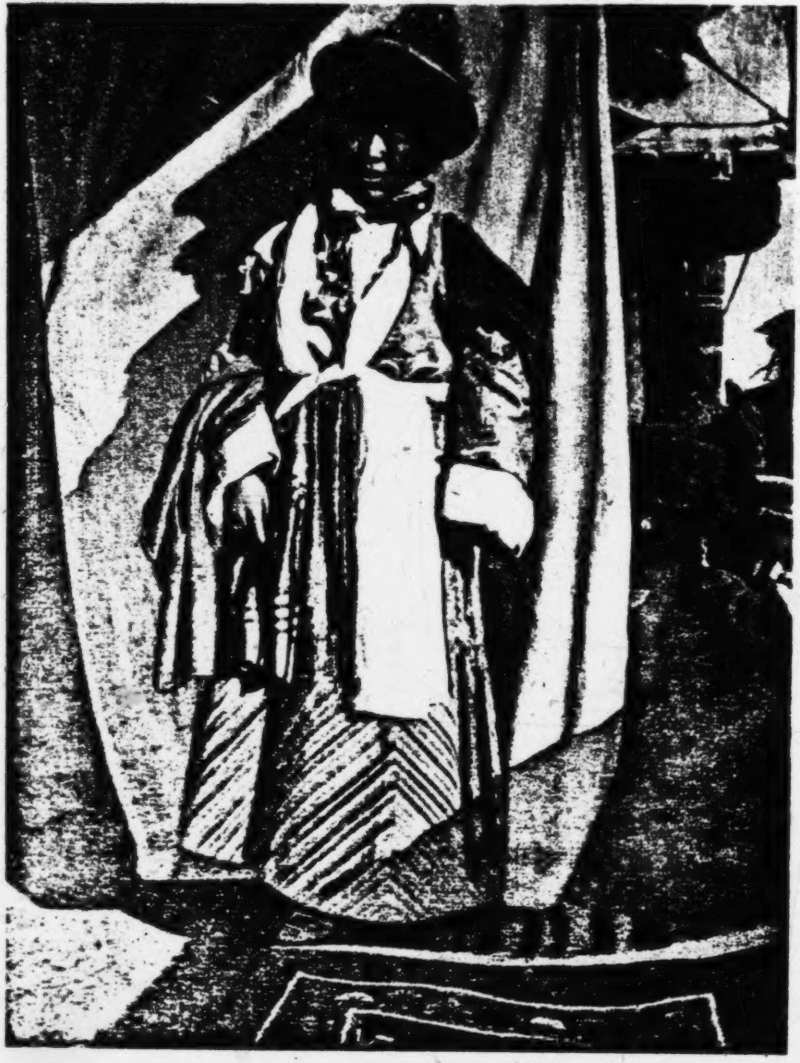

"Bridegroom in Ladakh."

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

[562] The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. [273] A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-ĉaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

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539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the šNatridpa is made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India;

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection *Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen* /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lĥa-ldan-gyi ĉan-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

585 Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

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[772] 104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say: what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'añ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish
Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singe~~d nails of~~ a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him
to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111).

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; [789] Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers.

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112)
should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people 585
were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside.

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: 585
the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out 302
the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with 585
otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head 301
and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

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118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

585 301 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 302 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 292 301 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth, the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

met with the approval of the critical mother and the aunts, it had become late afternoon and way past the time when the sun had gone down behind the mountains. The old devil-tamer had calculated that the "ape hour" (119) (around four o'clock in the afternoon) would be the 585

119. Tibetan nyi-yur-spre, literally, the "sun's going-to-sleep--ape," that is, "ape hour," in which the sun prepares itself for "going to sleep." [305]

appropriate hour for the departure of the bride from her parents' house.

The Kalatse people now urged that everyone leave. The Nyaopas, still led by the sNatridpa, went to old Norbu Wangchug with the soothsayer's document in which the latter's directions were written down, and asked him to hand over the bride. The bride's mother went into the house with them to the door of the room in which the bride had been dressed. When they knocked at the bolted door a few girls came out and declared amid laughter that the bride had not yet finished dressing, that the perag was not yet fastened and that her ornaments had not yet been put on, and so forth. When, after a while, the Nyaopas, came back, the girls declared that the bride had run away from them, and that they were unable to find her. Thereupon the sNatridpa put three rupees in the first bridesmaid's hand and said: "All right, all right, I know! Just hurry up and get ready and bring out the bride; the days are short, the sun has already gone down, soon it will be dark and we have a long way to go before we are home." But still the bride did not appear. The people from Kalatse became impatient, the Nyaopas pounded on the door with their fists, which was answered by the girls with loud laughter. One of the girls came out and said that the shawl was still missing and that they were unable to find it. The father Norbu Wangchug went into the chamber, brought out a coral necklace belonging to his daughter, and gave it to Sodnam Wanggyal saying, "Here you have a pledge for the time being; just don't be angry little brother, the nomo ('younger sister,' here the bride) (120) will be right out. She

120. Compare note 38.

is drinking a bowl of tea. Just be patient for a little while longer, you gentlemen!"

It was another good half hour until the bride finally appeared, festively dressed, hung with ornaments, an attractive appearance. The

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former held the bridal hat (žwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a 789 beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this carpet a låma had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil) in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride) was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang) the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything was in order.

585 789 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons.. The abbot of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle; in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar) decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out: 585 789

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against. 585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget 585

/Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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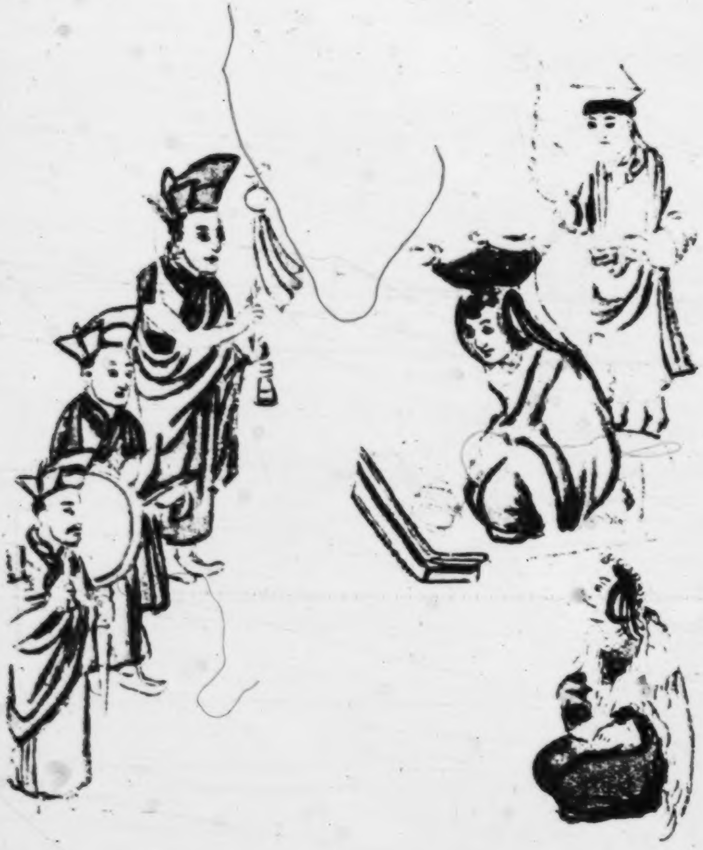
/Following page 106/



Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

Drawing). "/ /107/ me! Do not forget me! Father, Mother! Older Brothers! Younger Brothers! All of you! Remember me!" The female part of the gathering joins in the loud crying. Even fat uncle Norpel wipes something moist out of his eyes with his sleeve a few times. This is the "bride crying," the bride sobbing (bag-ńus) which is required by custom. And in the case of Chosskyid and her mother the tears were genuine.

Now the relatives and the guests step up to the bride from all sides; each one of them hangs a k'atags on her until she is adorned with about thirty such greeting ribbons. Once again there are embraces, and the grasping of legs of bystanders, bowing, and crying; then the sNatridpa and the Trashispa step forward and both lead the bride by the hand between them up to the stairs. The five Nyaopas together step behind the bride and call out: "Yaśa ho! Yaśa ho! (dear ho!)"--By this the gods are invoked and are asked to take the bride into their loving protection. All join in loudly, people and instruments. For the first time this day the bridegroom joins his bride. The uncle Ishe Lhundrub, who is still tolerably sober, steps up to them and carries (121) his niece on his back down the stairs, through the stable and the courtyard up to the gate. The bridegroom's two uncles, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, remain upstairs a little longer and thank the bride's father, Norbu Wangchug, for having arranged the wedding so beautifully and and with such costly trappings. They place a katags and five rupees on the edge of the stove and give a katags to each of the bride's relatives. With the greeting: "Trashis punsum tsogspa (bkra-śis p'un-sum t'sogs-pa)," meaning "Good luck and ample prosperity!" the two uncles, as well as the Nyaopas, now also go down the stairs and the remaining company follows them. At the gate of the courtyard the neighboring women have gathered, having brought beer in metal jugs, as well as plates with flour, rice, butter and

121 The reason why the bride is carried out of the house is, in my opinion, to be seen in the naive conception that in this way the departure from the house can be kept secret from the jealous house and family gods whose anger is to be feared. In China the bride is for similar reasons carried in a sedan-chair from the parental house up to the house of the bridegroom. Her foot is not allowed to touch the ground lest the gods should get onto the track of the escaping bride.

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum!" between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal 585 789

585 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new
789 dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mĉod-koṅ) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female
576 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride. May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

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122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out. 585

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuṅ-druṅ) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

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124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

585 789 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron
585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat, vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ one plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer. During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

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126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

more inferior with respect to their content and form, until the singing turns into the blaring of smutty and obscene songs. The dances also become increasingly wild and abandoned, an expression of the imagination and sensuality inflamed by the beer. Yet the group of drinkers and dancers becomes smaller and smaller. Many a one who had "enough" has gone on his way home with a heavy head and a dull tread; many a one has silently collapsed in the midst of the circle of drinkers and is laid down by the others in the back of the room, among them also Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house who had been the worst with the drinking and telling of dirty jokes. The sky was already becoming ruddy in the East when the last ones who were still able to walk finally set out on their way home in the cold morning twilight. Part of the guests who had come from afar stayed over night at the Dragshos house, others in neighboring houses, and others simply where inebriation had caused them to collapse.

/112/ The bridegroom did not stay long among those who were still celebrating. Their wild doings repelled him; the smutty jokes and allusions of the drunken men offended his sensibility. When the latter had just started again with drinking and dancing, he quietly got up; his departure was scarcely noticed by the people there. Finally he felt himself released from the unpleasant obligation of being present at the celebration and went over to the house of his father. There his bride was still waiting eagerly for the bridegroom in the circle of the older women and of her bridesmaids. As time went by, he had won her heart more and more, despite the fact that they had seen each other so seldom. Now, finally, after long months of delay and anxiety the two had arrived at the goal of their desires. Namgyal took his bride by the hand and said: "Yoṅ (come)!" Silently they both entered the room which was now to be their common living quarters. Only now did they fully realize that they belonged to each other.

On the day after the first wedding celebration most participants slept far into the forenoon, at least the male part of the guests. In the Dragshos house, however, the women, as well as some men who had remained tolerably sober during the festivities of the preceding day, already prepared for the further celebration which was to take place today in the Dragshos house: the "wedding of the young man (bu-t'sai bag-ston) (127)." Towards noon the Chirpon people came with their

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127. The wedding celebration in the bride's house is accordingly called "the wedding of the girl (bo-moi bag-ston)."

585 entire clan to Kalatse to take part in the further celebration. The young couple went out to meet them. Accompanied by the Nyaopas and Bagrogs they went as far as the plain beyond the gorge in order to present themselves now as the newly married couple to the parents and to the relatives of the bride. The couple greet the parents with the customary bows, clasping of knees, and so forth. The best man and the bridesmaids each place a jug of tea and beer before the parents who have dismounted from their horses. The parents give the daughter a beautifully embroidered Kashmir cloth worked in different colors; to the son-in-law they give a colorful sash. The best men and the bridesmaids each receive a few silver coins. Then the whole company goes to the Dragshos house together, where the guests are very gradually reassembling; some of them do not get back until the afternoon.

/Following page 112 there are two full-page illustrations; one of a praying Buddha figure, without a subtitle; the second showing the "preparing of the butter tea" (subtitle)./

/113/ Since Lobsang Wanggyal's house was also unable to hold all the guests, the celebration took place in his apricot garden where the large tent was again erected for the benefit of the elegant guests. The others sat down on carpets outside and soon there developed the same picture as the one of the preceding day: They ate, they drank, they sang, they danced, and they gave themselves over to uninhibited
585 gaiety. But the element that gave this celebration its special character
431 was the fact that the relatives and the members of the clan, the closest neighbors and the elegant guests of the Dragshos, delivered the contribution, in so far they had not already done so. Large goat's hair sacks with wheat, barley, and flour; beer in enormous clay jugs, butter in hide sacks, salt, Teeziegel /tea tiles/; furthermore Tibetan cloth in rolls, articles of clothing; the lonpo donated an entire suit of clothing: jacket, trousers, shirt, leggings, and sash for Namgyal. Also a few sheep and goats were driven in as contributions, and finally the money promised by various individuals for Lobsang Wanggyal was given to the lonpo. The latter received all the contributions, wrote down all that had been supplied and all payments of money on a list, and then carefully compared what had been received with what everyone had promised at the consultation beer. The other men also examined closely what each individual had contributed. Most of them had brought exactly what they had promised, some even brought a little more in order to outdo the others. Some, only a few, came with empty hands but promised to bring in their contribution later. Shangkupa (in German:

/Following page 112

532
776

A praying Buddha figure

/Following page 112/

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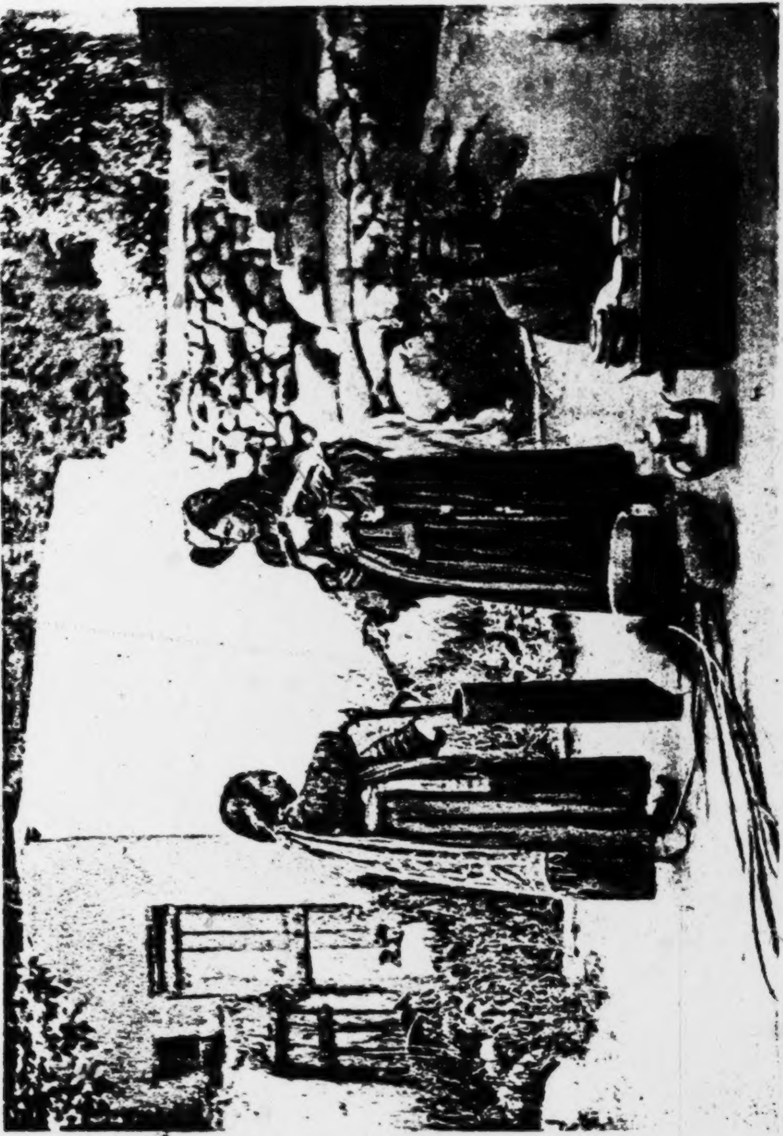

Preparing of the butter tea

585 431 Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

585 The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

[563] 585 533 535 As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

585 The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

585 more Chosskyid took an emotional farewell from her parents and from her relatives, with loud "bride's crying"; for now she stayed in the Dragshos house which had now become her home. The people from Tingmogang are supposed to have had a very bad time of it on their way home, but afterwards they did not like to talk about it. The people from Kalatse and a closer circle of guests from more distant villages stayed in the Dragshos house where they enjoyed themselves into the early hours of the morning with beer, singing, and dancing; until finally the lonpo stood up and in so doing gave the sign for everyone to depart.

/115/ On the third day separate parties were arranged in both houses, in the Dragshos house in Kalatse and in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang: the nyendron (party for relatives) to which all relatives and members of the tribe are invited who have in any way made contributions of some kind to the celebrations. If both houses had been in one place, nyendron would have been held for all those involved on two consecutive days, one day in one house, the next day in the other. On this third day the celebrations were a somewhat simplified repetition of those that had preceded them. At the end of this celebration each of the masters of the house thanked the guests with great politeness for their help and contributions. The Dragshos at that time also dismissed the five Nyaopas after an ample dinner and plentiful drink. Through the lonpo he presented each one of them with three rupees and ample provisions to eat along the way.

On the fourth day all those who had in some way or other served at the celebrations in both places were invited, in both houses, to the dronchung (little meal): the female cook (zan-ma), the female beer-brewer (ĉaṅ-ma), the female bread-baker (ta-gir-ma), the female water-carriers (ĉu-ma), the lampwoman (sgron-ma), and further the men and women who had performed all kinds of carrier services; the neighbors who had lent little tables, carpets, cooking pots, jugs and other utensils for the great celebration; the guard who had to look out that during the confusion of the banquet none of these utensils was carried off. All these faithful helpers were on this day able to enjoy their fill of food and drink as a reward for the services they rendered; and on this occasion the singing and the dancing was again not lacking. In the end everyone received, aside from a word of thanks from the m master of the house, a number of flat bread cakes and ample kollag as provisions along the way.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 784

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!)," and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the
entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house,
when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the case
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the
Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the
death of the father. She has full authority over the property
(the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the
offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband.
If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not
evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the
Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something
which happens quite often and is carried out without many
scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency
gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it
happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one
house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same
parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuñ) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mo)," the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuṅ-nuṅ)," and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/'bar-ma, middle father." Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

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[601]

But it must be said that

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562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

242 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan woman to be sterile (mo-sam). [784] Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

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[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mĉod-gnas) a few rupees 842 "for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!" He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara, so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings; the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595 The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837 and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner; even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586 brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness, or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgaṅ) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgaṅ points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

000 In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. [252] Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning-wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ṅam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast
[827] is called chinnan (mĉin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoṅ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford 262
a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing 264
wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy.

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/

Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of 342
their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Puttid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined.

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with 342
little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building 777
is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal

342 had to call in the lamas, even if he did so half against his will. They
777 came, five in number, and on the spot staked out for the construction,
they read the book of the "heaped up good luck (bkra-śis rtsegs-pa),"
the words of which allegedly possess the power to exorcise the entire legion
of threatening demons, so that good fortune might be able to enter into
the house unhampered.

/Following page 122 there is a full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool."/

342 /123/ On the appointed Thursday there appeared a group of
men with hoes and spades on the building site. Jugs with beer were
already standing there in readiness. The workers received a drink and
each one of them was given a few copper coins. The "architect," a
carpenter with very limited abilities, stepped forth and staked off the
quadrangle of the house exactly by means of strings and stakes. At the
sign from the master one of the laborers came forth and, as the first
one, broke the ground with his hoe. He and no other one was allowed
[777] to do this: He was a "pig year person" (p'ag-lo-pa); such a person is
considered as a person who brings luck, and whatever he starts is supposed
to succeed. He is a man of "sharp speech" (k'a-gnon), the spirits fear
his word and his hand, he has power over them. One blow with the
hoe executed by him frightens the spirits and drives away the last ones
that may have remained behind after the exorcism of the lamas. This
"pig year person" also receives better pay than the other workers in
order to make sure that he will stay till the building is completed.
He had been fetched from a distant village, because no such lucky
person was to be had just then in the neighboring villages. The higher
pay induced him to lend his services to the builder until the end, a
fact which was appreciated not because of his performance--he was
the laziest of all the workers--but because of his supposed power of
exorcizing the spirits, a power which was given him by his year of
birth. His laziness was therefore taken into the bargain.

Weeks before they began building the men had broken rocks by the mountain and had rolled them down the steep slope close to the building site. Poplars had been felled for building wood; there was no better building wood on these mountain oases. The carpenter and his assistants chopped off the branches with their cross axes, peeled off the bark, and removed the roughest unevennesses of the trunk, but left it in its round shape. There is in the mountain wilderness a great lack of strong trunks which can be used as roof beams capable of supporting

/Following page 122/

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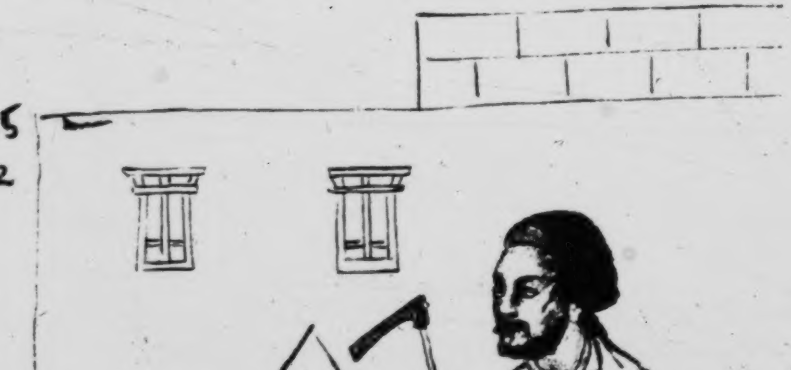

Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool.

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof. 342

Then the tiles were formed from the loamy soil, such as is to be found nearby--a product of the decomposition of limestone and granite--in the glacial deposits of the valley. The "tile moulders" placed the tiles upright on their sides on the ground in rows /124/. The sun, which in these heights (3,300 meters), with their clear, thin air free of vapors, shines very hot as early as May and exerts its heating effect unhampered, can in a few days dry and bake these "air tiles" in such a way that they produce walls, which in the dry air of those highlands can last for centuries. For the burning of tiles there is no fuel in the practically woodless country. The Tibetan potter must laboriously gather the necessary shrubs in order to bake his pots and jugs. 342 333 [323]

The ground, consisting of moraine deposits on which the entire village stood, was dug without difficulty to the depth of about half a meter. Then came the "bricklayers," that is to say, the farmers who knew a little more about bricklaying than the others. The foundation walls were constructed of rough, scarcely hewn stones up to a height of about half a meter above the ground. On top of this foundation wall was put a thin layer of planks; with such a plank layer the wall is also covered at the top. Loamy soil serves as mortar. It is true that there are entire mountain ranges consisting of lime nearby, but for lack of fuel no lime can be baked.

A wooden roof is an impossibility, due to the lack of suitable building wood. The ceiling beams are placed blunt and without joints on the upper plank layer of the wall at distances of about half a meter. For larger rooms a stronger main beam is placed in the middle, and from this beam weaker beams are placed at right angles on both sides towards the walls. On top of these are placed, close together, strong, straight, peeled osier sticks which have been cut to an even length. On top of this is placed a layer of any kind of shrubs or weeds, such as the region may provide. On top of this layer they put wet loamy soil which they then trample down. The roof is divided into several fields with a slight incline towards the edge of the roof, so that the rain water is conducted into the outer corners and can drain off through short wooden gutters. 342

The house has two stories which internally are connected by means of stairs made of rough stones. A ladder consisting of a beam into which the carpenter has cut indentations as steps /125/, leads from the upper story on to the flat topmost roof of the house. The

342 walls of the house are covered on the inside as well as the outside with a plaster which consists also of loamy or clay-containing soil like the rest of the walls. Then the whole thing is painted with a yellowish white marl, which gives the house a friendly appearance. The doors and window frames are roughly fashioned, and the windows are very small, in order to keep the rooms as warm as possible in winter. The floors are made of loam that has been stamped down; only in the houses of the rich does a part of the living quarters have wooden ceilings. Usually a small courtyard that is enclosed by a high wall surrounds the house.

One enters a Tibetan house, coming through the courtyard, by a low door, and first of all one finds oneself in the stable in which the horses and the cows belonging to the owner stand at their brick cribs. Going up the stone steps, one arrives at the roomy livingroom-kitchen (ĉan-sa); adjoining this is a larger room, a kind of "parlor," opening to the south with a balcony; adjacent to both these rooms are the bedrooms and the pantry. Frequently the living room-kitchen also has a balcony on which the people like to sit in the sun in summer and winter, when they don't prefer to stay on the flat roof. Sometimes only a part of the lower story has a second story built on top of it, so that one can walk about and sit on its roof. Often the house is built at a steep mountain slope; then people and animals can get on top of the roof without stairs by simply using the mountain slope. On top of the roof the sheep and goat stable is often to be found.

On the upper roof, the loft, well-to-do Buddhists have their household temple constructed. Below this temple, in the livingroom-kitchen, are the seats of the men running in a row along the wall; below this--the granary. The blessing of the Buddhas and of the tutelary gods, whose pictures are up above in the household sanctum, are supposed to stream down directly upon the people and the property of the house below.

The work now progressed rapidly. Not a single rainy day interrupted it; the tiles dried and hardened well and quickly in the hot sun /126/, and when in July the harvesting work started, which required the services of the workers, the construction was essentially finished. Namgyal regaled his workers with tea, flat bread cakes, and beer, and dismissed them all except two carpenters who still had to construct the last doors and window shutters. The new building of the Dragshos house stood, simple but trim, beside the old, which Namgyal had also had repained. His joy over the new construction was great.

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile Demons

When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

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above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house/or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

in the course of the light-giving and life-giving sun are likewise the turning points in his life and activities.

The sun in winter runs its course in a low arc, scarcely rises above the tall mountain ridges and leaves innumerable valleys and many homesteads in darkness and cold. When, at the time of the winter solstice, it again rises victoriously and awakens to new life the nature which has been lying in a deathlike sleep, then joy and hope, which seek expression in a whole series of festivals, are aroused in the heart of the Tibetan.

In this respect it is strange first of all that the Tibetans have two New Year's celebrations. There is the people's New Year (lo-gsar) of ancient tradition, which is celebrated on a series of days beginning at the end of the tenth month; and there is the "King's New Year" (rgyal-poi lo-gsar), also called Dosmoche (gdos-mo-ĉe), which is observed on the first day of the first month. The first-named is in any case the older, more original festival which originated from the ancient winter solstice festival. It usually falls in the time between the last days of November and the 25th of December. Since the grain and provision chambers of the Tibetans are still relatively full around this time, there are no material prerequisites lacking for extensive celebrations. When--about two months later--the "King's New Year" is celebrated, and the supplies have been strongly depleted by family and tribal festivals, there may very easily be a lack of the necessary /Following page 128 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of a "Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas, out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating." (subtitle). The second illustration is of "A wedding in Ladakh" (subtitle). / /129/ "stuff" for celebrating; and, after all, the Tibetan likes to "splurge" at his festivals.

The lamas, it is true, look upon the King's New Year (Dosmoche) as the true New Year. It was probably introduced by the kings who had turned Buddhist at the urging of the Buddhist priesthood. (132)

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132. A saga tells--under the presupposition that the "King's New Year," the later New Year celebrated in February, is the original one--that the king of Ladakh by the name of Jamgyang (1560-1590) wanted to wage war against the Muslim princes of neighboring Puri. But since winter was close at hand the lamas declared that it would not be advisable to start the war

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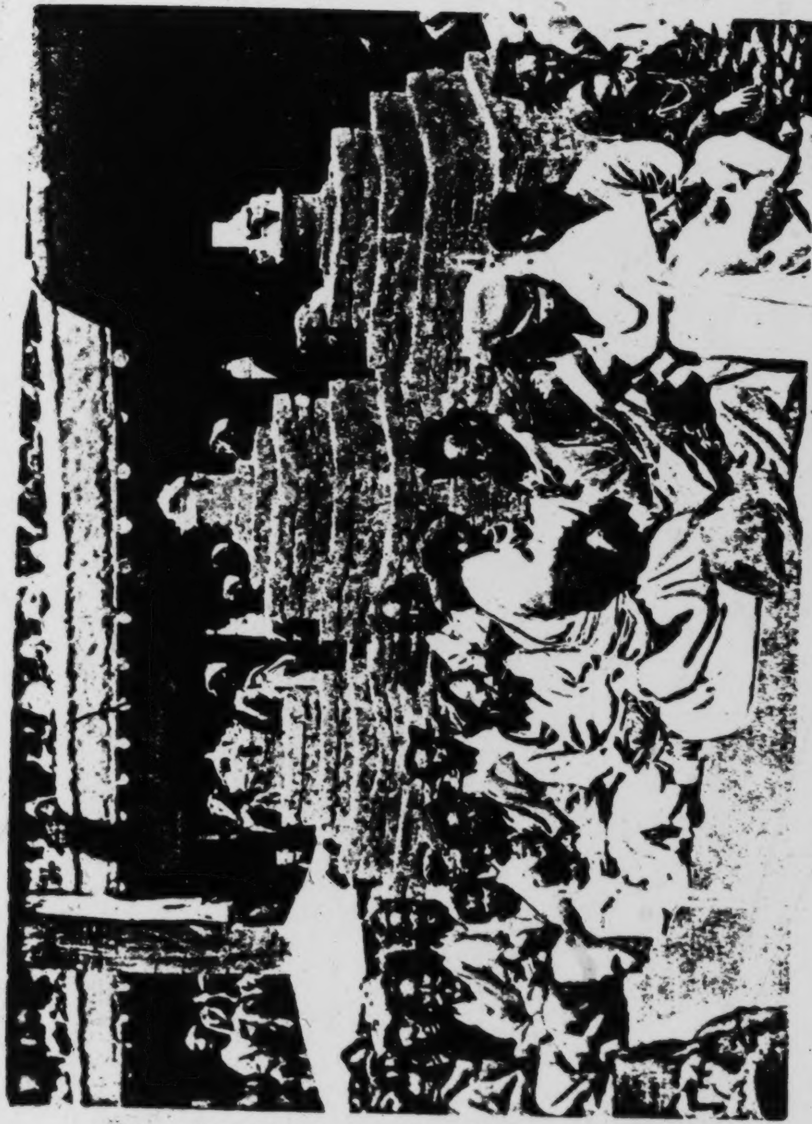
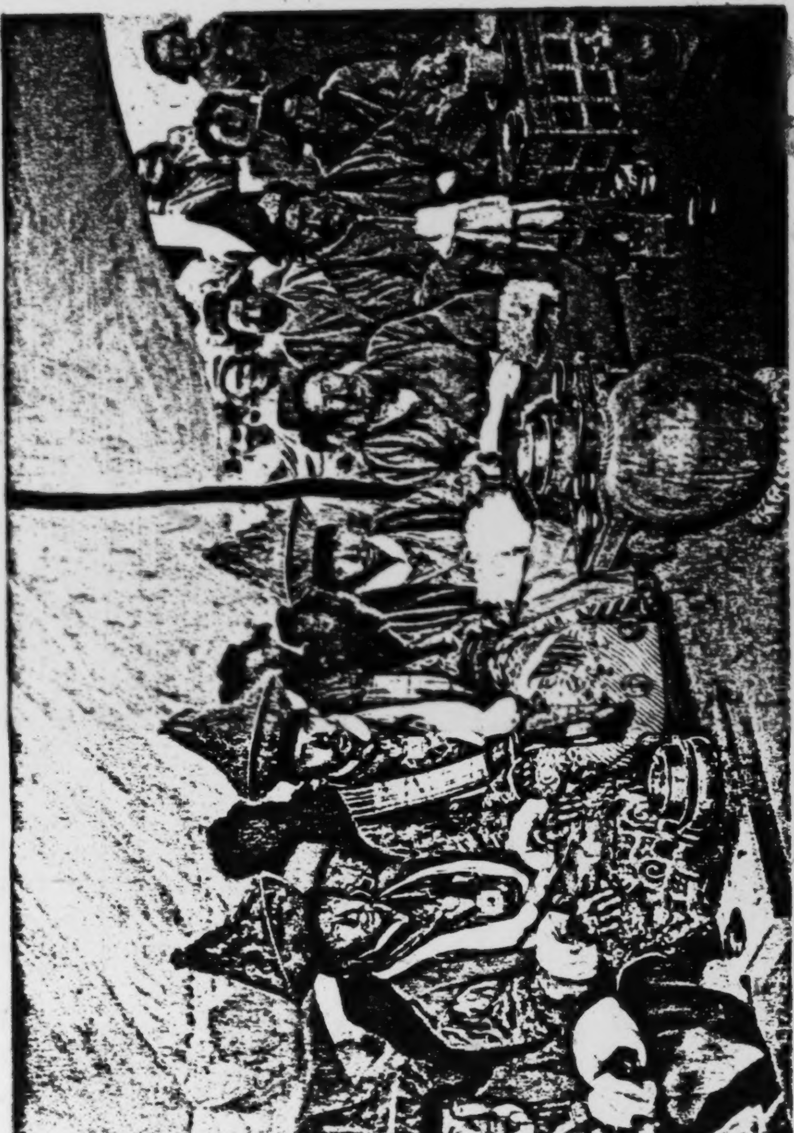


Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating.

/Following page 128/



A Wedding in Ladakh

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let them- themselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchod (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mĉod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

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782 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries. Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images [illegible] the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and laid K'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods.

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

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133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town; the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed [799] in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527] Stóg on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from [576] Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532] the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at this wonder of technology.

600 at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following, [344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. [563] The musical band, which still bears the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women [526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 782 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang, the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koñ), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the 527 778 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful, as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets 527
which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum 778
a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating.

About two months later when the days had already become con- 527
siderably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers.

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special 527
urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the
festival at Leh. "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great 777
magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up

527 777 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first 805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 789 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma) (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

782 776 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering) the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times. 782 776

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /136/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons. 527 789

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the dosmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 789 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig žal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this monastery. An old lama has told Namgyal that in this shape the great Merciful One had quite special power, and that his compassion knew no bounds. With more than a thousand eyes (aside from the ordinary eyes each of the eleven faces has a third one on its forehead, and in each palm of the hand is another eye) the Redeemer looks with infinite compassion upon the suffering living creatures in the six worlds, all the way down into hell; and there the thousand strong arms are also outstretched to save and to release. And all this, Namgyal was told, the great Merciful One did from pure mercy; no special efforts were necessary, and no special virtuous performances on the part of the person to be released. Thus Namgyal had great expectations especially for this procession of supplication.

After some waiting the men are finally all gathered together in the snow-covered wilderness at the foot of the mountain on which the monastery stands. There are some /138/ highly-placed persons among them, two gentlemen of the nobility, a few officials from the Wasarat (the office of the Wasir), farmers, small-holders, and day-laborers: a colorful company. Some of the day-laborers had been hired by the rich to come along in exchange for payment. Credit and profit was to accrue to the givers of money for this. The well-to-do are dressed in warm, caftan-like cloth coats; some of them even wear a thick sheep's skin on top of this. The poor try, as best they can, to protect themselves against the penetrating cold of the early morning by at least putting on two quite ragged coats, one over the other, and a goat's skin which they hang over their backs with its hairy side on the inside. [291]

In silence the men arrange themselves in the prescribed order for the procession; at the head is the local magistrate of a neighboring village, who is considered a particularly pious person and who is skilled in the reciting of the prayers. All eyes now turn towards the monastery up on top of the mountain in which stands the image of the sPyan-ras-gzig, the great Merciful One, well-known to all. The man at the head of the procession begins to pray and all the others join him with prayers (136): "Thou, Oh ruler with the thousand arms, who leadest the cycle

136. The first prayer goes as follows in Tibetan:

P'yag stoṅ ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston/
Spyan stoṅ bskal-pa bzaṅ-po saṅs-rgyas ston/
Gaṅ-la gaṅ ston de-la de ston-pa/
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag t'sal-lo.

The second prayer:

788 Nga nam-mk'a dań mnyams-pai sems can t'ams-cad/
bLama sans-rgyas ĉos-kyi sku-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama lońs-spyod rdzogs-pai skul-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama sans-rgyas riń-po-ĉe-la p'yag t'sal-lo/

(of metempsychosis)! Thou Buddha, with the thousand eyes who showest (us) the fortunate Kalpa (meaning, "world era"), thou who leadest one in this manner, the other in that! To thee, the 'teacher' Chanrezig, we pray!"

A second prayer addressed to Gautama Buddha in the "three bodies" goes as follows: "We innumerable living creatures all pray to you, the sublime Buddha in the body of the doctrine (Sanskrit, Dharmak'aya) (137). We pray to thee, Oh thou sublime Buddha, in the body of perfect blessedness (Nirmanak'aya)!" Further prayers addressed to Chanrezig, to Maitreya, and to other deities, then follow.

The first prayer is uttered while the men stand and have their heads bared; the second they say kneeling, the third lying down so that their heads touch the ground (hence the name "head procession"). Then they all rise and march at a distance of a man's height from each other, until their feet arrive at the spot where there head was touching the ground earlier. Not a word is to be spoken outside of the prayers,

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[779] 137. The perfected Buddha who has attained the illumination (Bodhi), according to the Mahayana doctrine possesses three "bodies" or outward forms (Tibetan, sku; Sanskrit, K'aya): The completely spiritualized "body of the doctrine (Tibetan, ĉos-kyi sku; Sanskrit, dharmak'aya), " the incarnate Word"; the "body of blessedness (Tibetan, lońs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku; Sanskrit, sambhogak'aya)" in which the Buddha enjoys perfect blessedness. These two are mentioned in the prayer. As a third one there is added to these the "body of transformation (Tibetan, sprul-sku; Sanskrit, nirmanak'aya), " the shape in which the Buddha appears visibly among the living creatures and in which he performs and teaches his saving work among them, until he finally dies for the last time in order to be completely "extinguished" at that time in the wholly attained Nirvana (Sanskrit, Parinirvana).

and their thoughts must be turned in contemplation upon the Sublime One up there on the mountain. The goal of every day's journey along the way is marked by blocks of stone /139/ that stick out from under the snow. The way leads along the snow-covered mountain slope through the desert, across the saddle of a hill, and it finally ends on the third day up at the top of the mountain in front of the monastery temple.

The procession advanced along its way slowly and amidst constant praying. In front of Namgyal, who was a man of considerable height, the scribe from the Wasarat walked along laboriously, showing every sign of extreme exertion. His name was Dondrub and he was a man of considerable girth and slight height. Thus it happened that whenever the suppliants lay down to pray, Namgyal's head always came to rest on the feet of the man in front of him, which the latter had stretched out behind him; so that he had to turn his head to the side every time in order not to get kicked in the face accidentally. Namgyal observed how the fat scribe now and then produced a piece of bread from the bosom of his fur coat despite the strict injunction to fast. As the scribe was eating his bread Namgyal noticed how his praying had the dull sound of someone who is chewing. Namgyal also saw how the corpulent gentleman in front of him, one of the first worthies of the land of Ladakh, was now devoid of all dignity and how he let himself go. Namgyal heard how he arose from his prone position every time amid panting and coughing and noticed how he would then wipe the sweat off his forehead with his sleeve. Namgyal had gone to the Gotschag exercise in all earnestness of purpose and in all devoutness, but he also had a quick eye for the amusing side of life. For a few moments his concentrated devotion was gone and he felt the urge to laugh; he had to control himself very carefully not to break out into loud laughter. He knew the scribe well and he was acquainted with the reason for that honorable gentleman's considerable corpulence. But it did not take long for Namgyal to bring his laughing muscles and his thoughts fully under control again, and he once more turned his mind towards the Sublime One up there on the mountain. When the suppliants had arrived at the old water tower under the castle in the afternoon, the man who led the praying at the head of the procession stopped praying and the men dispersed in silence as they had come. The scribe Dondrub once more turned around to the man who had been walking behind him, cast a half desperate look towards him and whispered to him: "That was some drudgery! And this is to continue another two days!"

/140/ Namgyal went to his quarters, consumed his simple, scanty fasting-period meal and then went to bed very shortly. The peculiar pilgrimage of this day had been something unusual for him, but for a powerful man like him it had not been too strenuous. What might the scribe Dondrub feel like tonight!

The following morning the pious pilgrims again came together at the old water tower in the very spot where their "head procession" had ended the day before. Again the pilgrimage and the praying started up the way it had been the day before. But Namgyal looked around in vain for the man who had walked in front of him the previous day. He learned later that the scribe had notified the prayer leader that he was "sick," and that he had sent his servant in his place to do the praying. He had promised the servant a goodly bakshish (tip) for this. After all, it was a matter of complete indifference, the house chaplain, a lama in the service of Dondrub, is supposed to have said, *who* does the praying; so long as there is *some* one who takes part in the procession of supplication on behalf of the house, the Sublime One on the mountain would be contented.

This experience again made Namgyal pensive. The man who walked in front of him on this, the second, and on the third day of the procession, was a farmer from a neighboring village who had about the same shape and stature as Namgyal, and who performed the exercises with great earnestness and enthusiasm. Thus Namgyal was able to direct his thoughts undisturbed towards his prayer. When on the third day, as the sun was going down, the procession came to its conclusion in front of the Namgyal-Tsemo temple on top of the mountain, and the pilgrims had thrown themselves to the ground inside the monastery temple before the image of Chanrezig, praying to it three times, they dispersed in silence as they had come. Namgyal stayed up before the dying fire of the hearth in his shelter for a long time that evening. He thought about the things he had experienced in the last few days. The man must have asked himself a hundred times, after he had taken part in the laborious pilgrimage in a sincere search for peace: "Has all this made me better, happier, and stronger?" He found no answer to this question.

000 The majority of his pious fellow pilgrims, it is true, did not surrender themselves to such meditative reflections. They were of the opinion that an exertion had to be followed by "well-deserved" recreation. Thus they gathered with their less pious friends in the evening for a drinking bout which had quite an unholy ending. A brawl took

place /141/ during which a man was beaten till he bled, because he had needled the scribe Dondrub about his "sickness." 000

With tormenting doubts in his mind, Namgyal returned to Kalatse. The recent great exertion approaching the so highly praised bringers of salvation had left only a feeling of dissatisfaction again in his heart. Grandmother Tsering Putrid who had no understanding for his inner conflicts, even though she was constantly admonishing him to be "pious," reproached him bitterly for having neglected to bring home an amulet from the great dosmo in Leh for her. He had missed such a beautiful opportunity, she said, for bringing good fortune into the house and the family.

787

Soon after the return of her grandson, Api (grandmother), Tsering Putrid talked to him earnestly and said: "Namgyal, have you had a horoscope made yet for the new year? No? Then it is high time that you do so! How can you postpone an important matter like that for such a long time! Go to the old Dorje Dud-joms immediately and have him construct the year's horoscope for our family! That should have been taken care of two months ago. For how will you know otherwise what designs the evil demons have against us, unless the soothsayer warns us betimes!"

Namgyal had no desire to go to the sly old fox to consult him again, and so he said to the Api that the onpo himself knew no more than other people and that he was unable to look into the dark future. So frequently the people who consulted him had seen themselves swindled by the onpo. The only person who profited from this, he said, was the onpo. The Api was seriously angry at her grandson and said that if he refused to go she would go to the man herself.

So already on the following day, the old woman went the long way to the "devil-tamer," in order to have him look into the destiny for the year that had long since begun. The soothsayer was in a very bad mood and very short-tempered. He wrote down the titles of a few books for her which she was to have the lamas read. This was to ward off threatening misfortunes; further he prescribed for her a few offerings that were to be made and a skurim (ceremony) that was to be performed for the same purpose. He knew the old woman's avarice, and when she had left his hermitage /142/ he mumbled after her: "For those few measly coppers that you give me I am going to write you a long, beautiful horoscope!" Tired and humiliated the Api came home and she did not dare to show her grandson the document straight away. Not till a full week had gone by did she give it to him and merely said:

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery has fallen into disuse.

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 200

241 787 When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka.

241 On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh. The following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle). / /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. 241 Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snań-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

/Following page 144/

Bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts

/Following page 144/

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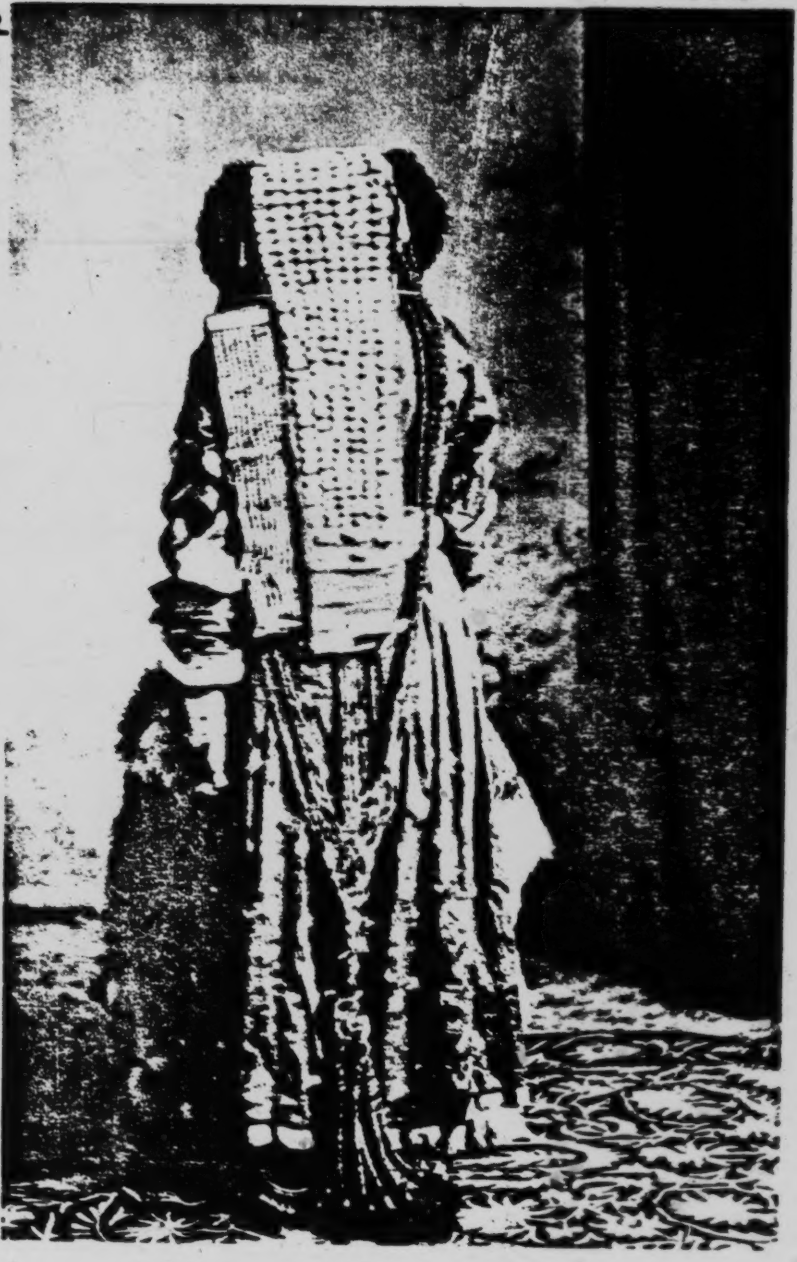

Ladakh woman in festive costume with
turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of 241
the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the 789
field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water.

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse 000
and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come.

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar- 241
sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green 782
stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings.

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together 241
in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

241
788 go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way, volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he [illegible]ws at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139) in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /148/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

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139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples. He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity. [776]

Cloud (140) asking for rain. The Buddha is even designated by this name in Mahayana Buddhism. In a book called "The Great Cloud," it is told how the Buddha teaches and admonishes the nagas (water gods) to supply rain.

Now the lama reads pieces from the book named. In so doing, he addresses the nagas in the following manner: "Oh, all you nagas, great as well as small! I come not in order to inflict harm upon you, but in order to implore you for rain for the benefit of the earth, especially for the benefit of this place. It is Tsongkapa's command that you obey. But if you do not obey, I will smash your skull with my mantra (magical formula). Therefore, give us rain now without delay, and do not leave this place until rain falls!" Then the lama places three stones at each of the four corners of the open space, calls out the names of the Jinas (rgyal-ba, the heavenly Buddhas) of the four corners of the earth, and places the vase with the pills into the water of the well so that it is no longer visible. He then proceeds to set up a small tent and places a little statue of Tsongkapa inside it, and in front of this statue he puts the "five kinds of offering": cake, grain, flowers, little lamps, and water (in place of the lacking wine).

The lama also calls upon the village god for assistance; magical formulas and exorcising texts are recited.

It is stated in the book of magic: "When all this has been done in the manner indicated, a beautiful picture of Tsongkapa will appear to the lama (who performs the exorcism) above each one of the lamps that has been set up. The picture shows Tsongkapa sitting on a naga (nymph) and scattering ambrosia down upon the nagas so that they experience the most extreme ecstasy, and let their lightning bolts shoot across the sky so that clouds are massed together, the thunder dragons

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140. The Tibetan title of the book about the "Great Cloud" (meaning Buddha) is "gcig las ĉar-abebs skor, of the singular work of giving rain." Buddha is given the title "Almighty Naga King" in this book, and he is entreated to induce through his "blissful magical power" the Naga princess under him to give rain. Aside from those names, the thunderbolt carrier, Vjrapani (p'yag-rdor) is also often implored for rain. Among the ancient Romans, Jupiter had, aside from other functions, also that of "cloud gatherer" and "rain giver."

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

> 141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. 821

000 The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buckwheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them.

527 So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time,, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery.
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776 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

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782 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, 527
and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, 782
brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense.

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the [589] magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha.

527 782 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart. With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle 437 of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes./ 437

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this instance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo. 777

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were 437 called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enterprise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143): 789

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir). [823]

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

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demons that threatened the travelers along the way, so that the demons would not inflict any harm upon them; also that the travelers would have success and profit in their trading One or the other of the travelers had the lama make one or several new amulets, including one that acted as a protection against the bite of a dog. The great, strong mastiffs of the Tibetan nomads are much feared. The amulet contained a slip of paper on which was drawn a picture of a dog in rough outline. The dog's legs and mouth were bound with a chain which was secured at its end by a dorje. Around the figure of the dog was written a magical formula in Sanskrit script, which concluded with the words: "The mouth of the blue dog is tied fast, swaha!"

Another man prepared himself for possible clashes with the thieves of Jangtang by acquiring an amulet which was supposed to make the weafer immune towards sword, spear, and bullet. The amulet consisted of a piece of paper on which invocations by the heavenly Buddhas were printed so that they enclosed a lotus flower in concentric circles. On the eight petals of the lotus flower is written the magical syllable "hum," and in the four corners of the piece of paper are the signs of the Buddhistic trinity: Three gems standing for the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, and Monkhood); then--singly--the lotus flower (Buddha), the thunderbolt (Law), the magical dagger (Monkhood). The first formula on the magical piece of paper reads: "You Buddhas, gods, goddesses and great Gurus (teachers)! Protect the body, soul, and speech of the possessor of this charm!" To this are added a great number of magical formulas and syllables whose meaning is supposed to be such. The lama had made an incision with a knife into the muscular flesh of the arm of one /154/ of the men who wanted to have a particularly effective protection against injuries of all kinds. With the blood from this incision the lama had drawn a few magical signs and letters inside the innermost magical circle. This charm had to be be paid for more dearly, of course, than the others. The magical slips of paper were folded into small squares, they were covered with red or yellow silk, tied across the cross, and then they were attached to the cap or hung around the neck by a string; or else they were worn on the bare skin underneath the jacket so that they were invisible. Two people also wore a flattened lead bullet each, as a talisman, in a bag on their chest; the bullets had been found in the body of a wild sheep killed in hunting; and they were considered as effective means of protection against injury.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He took his [illegible] remained aloof from all this activity. [illegible]

muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor. 411 721

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking. 000

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rrifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most 437 231

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 492 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 437 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely
[233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

The people in the nomad camps liked to see the traders from Ladakh, simply even for the change that their appearance provided in the eternal monotony of the life in those wildernesses. Soon the trading got underway. Amid endless bartering and haggling the Ladakh people exchanged their wares for salt from the nomads, as well as natron, and sheeps' wool. They had already traded their own sheeps' wool along the way in the villages of Ladakh. In exchange for this, they purchased from the mountain shepherds some fine shawl wool which was gotten from the fine lower hair of the mountain goats and which they sold again at a profit in Kashmir. There shawls and other fine woven materials are produced from it.

The people from Kalatse had done good business; almost all of their exchange goods, even the Indian wares, they had been able to exchange at a good profit. Another even larger camp was to be visited, in which more natron (for the preparation of tea) was to be traded. /157/ The camp lay to the side of the ordinary trading route in a broad floor of a valley. One day, as the people of Ladakh were moving slowly 579 and wearily along the sandy route in the scorching sun with their heavily laden animals, a shot was suddenly fired at extremely close range. This was soon followed by a second, a third, and a fourth shot, bullets whistled around their ears, a horse which had been shot through the neck with a bullet collapsed and rolled over in the sand with its load, a man, whose muscles on his left upper arm had been torn by a bullet and whose back had been grazed, fell down. In spite of their heavy burdens, the horses ran as if mad, scattering in various directions, even the loaded sheep and goats rushed off. Seventeen Tibetan horsemen galloped toward them. The Ladakh people skillfully looked for cover. Seven shots resounded one after the other from their rifles, one of the Tibetan riders who had been hit in the chest fell in the sand, two of the attackers' horses were shot from under their riders, but before the old-fashioned rifles could be reloaded, the Ladakh people were surrounded by the bandits who attacked them with lances and swords. The Ladakh people defended themselves with swords, pikes, and the butts of rifles in a very courageous manner; a furious battle developed in which Drogpa Namgyal distinguished himself particularly. The fighting spirit of the old Dragshos had been awakened in him. With blows of his sword he knocked two bandits down on the sand. But the bandits' superiority was none the less too great; they were all of them younger and strong men, while among the Ladakh people there were some old men. The battle ended with the Ladakh people being led off with

579 their hands tied together behind their backs. The bandits drove the scattered beasts of burden together again with great difficulty and led the captured caravan, people and animals, together with the stolen wares into a distant valley. They went along devious routes, avoiding the great caravan thoroughfare and, as darkness was falling, they arrived at their camp in the valley where the feet of the prisoners were also tied together. Thus the prisoners just had to lie on the ground and wait for whatever might happen. Late in the evening each of the prisoners was given a lump of kollag and a little bowl of sour milk. Then the men lying on the ground were pushed together, and the armed bandits lay down around them to sleep while two of them stood guard in turns. Despite the /158/ penetrating cold, no fire was lit, so that the attention of the Tibetan police patrols would not be drawn to them.

The next morning the bandits first debated amongst each other excitedly for a long time, then their chief announced to the Ladakh people that they were to appoint one of their group who had influence in their villages to ride as fast as possible to their native village and to bring back 200 rupees for each of the prisoners. He was then to return with the ransom money as rapidly as possible, and this money he was to bring to a certain spot in the neighborhood of the camp, alone and unarmed. The messenger rode away. The bandits threatened their prisoners that at the slightest attempt on their part to flee the persons concerned would be killed. Nevertheless, the robbers displayed human sentiment. During the day, the bonds on the prisoners' feet were loosened a little, they received the same simple food as their captors. The wound which one of the Ladakh men had received was [752] dressed scantily with old rags, fresh yak dung, and soot. His wound was not dangerous; matters were more critical with the man from Jangtang, who had a bullet from Drogpa Namgyal's rifle between his ribs, and another man's lower arm had been broken by a blow from Namgyal's sword. The bandits put the broken arm in a splint of stiff yak leather, the other wounded person had the bullet cut out, and his wound was burned around the edges with a red-hot iron. He was given musk to anesthetize him against the pain.

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701 The imprisonment of the Ladakh men was not to be of long duration. On the second evening, as darkness was descending, the bandits were sitting around the smouldering camp fires to butter tea and tsampa. They were chatting, and again and again they were recounting their heroic deeds to each other, when suddenly, out of the dark, there appeared figures as though sprung from the ground--they

were about thirty Tibetan frontier soldiers who called upon them to surrender. The bandits seized their weapons, but already they were surrounded, and at rifle point they were forced to surrender. They were bound and would be brought before the nearest dsongpon (district captain) for judgment. The Ladakh men were freed. It is true that their liberators demanded as a compensation for their "selfless" effort a tribute of eight sheep, a sack of flour, two sacks made of hide filled with butter, and twenty rupees. They took an even greater tribute /159/ from the robbers, from whom there was also more to be had. This was an extortion, and the soldiers knew that. All of them, the soldiers as well as the bandits, were also acquainted with the command of Buddha, of whom the chieftan of the bandits always carried a small bronze statue around with him on a string: "Take nothing that is not given to you!" But--Heaven is high above, the Dalai Lama is far away, and Buddha has disappeared in the nirvana: finally one confesses it to the lama, and the latter imposes a small fine on one, a small offering of the "gain" is brought to the Buddhas, and with that the matter is closed, and the conscience is set at rest. 579 701

The people of Ladakh were glad to have got off so easily. If the soldiers had not turned up they would have lost everything and scarcely all would have reached their home alive. The following day they immediately set out on the way back, in order to reach as soon as possible the border of Ladakh and with it safer regions. To compensate for the two horses that had been shot they bought two of the "seized" yak oxen from the soldiers for little money. The wounded man was placed on top of the burden carried by one of the yaks. The flesh wound healed marvellously soon under "expert treatment." 000

The profit from the business expedition had in this manner shrunk to very little. The disappointed men had time on their long journey back to reflect about the usefulness and the effectiveness of the assistance of the lamas and the magicians as well as of the "divine" dispensers of protection and wealth, to obtain which had cost them so much. It was a slight consolation for the men of Kalatse that for once they were able to eat such plentiful amounts of meat. On the plateaus of Jangtang the wild yak still lives in larger herds, and other large wild animals are to be met with there. Namgyal succeeded in creeping up to a yak herd with great skill and to lay low a strong bull with a well-aimed shot. Later, he killed a few Tibetan antelopes and a great number of snow pheasants, so that for once the Ladakh people were able to feast on meat. They appeased their Buddhist consciences with

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (śi-soṅ)." Died? What from? From too much lead? (144)

262
231. 144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters. In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

Then they would handle the robbers all right 000

Drogpa Namgyal's Piety

As heir of the ancestors on his mother's side, Namgyal had inherited a tendency towards the religious. What the boy Namgyal had heard told by his father and by the old fairytale and saga narrator, Kontshog Trashi, as well as by the /following p. 160 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The great reading. Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of the country." The second with the subtitle: "A dosmo."/ /161/ hermit Tsetan, about the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, had made him think, had stimulated his imagination, but initially filled him with fear and terror. Often the boy stood lost in thought before the open door of the household temple, and with a silent horror looked at the figures of the various deities that were there portrayed in clay, in bronze, or in painted pictures. His father and the hermit had told him a number of things of the "Story and Legend of Gautama," of the prince Siddhart in India who finally became Buddha. He had heard in particular the stories of his many births in the shapes of gods, of human beings, and of animals, and how in his last visible existence he attained illumination (Bodhi) and with it the dignity of a Buddha. Namgyal knew of the great redeemer Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-gzigs) (145) who, animated by infinite love and mercy, is ceaselessly active in saving the suffering creatures of all kinds from the tortures of their changing existences, yes, even from hell. He often prayed to him, imploring him to lead him along the right path through all temptations and dangers of this earthly existence, into the Paradise of the West, the joyful realm Amitabhas, yes, even into nirvana. 776

On a trip with his father, Namgyal once saw the gigantic image of Maitreya (byans-pa) in Mulbekh. This is the Buddha of the future who, five thousand years after the passing of Gautama into nirvana, is to carry on as Redeemer the work of his predecessor. Supposedly, however, he is active even now from the Tushita heaven as the "Buddha of love" in the saving of tortured creatures, and he is highly honored by the Buddhists. Just like this "Saviour," Tara (sGrol-ma, Drolma), the benign goddess, the feminine counterpart of the Bodhisattva Chanrezig,

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145. Compare note 23!

5: Ribbach--167 a. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 160/

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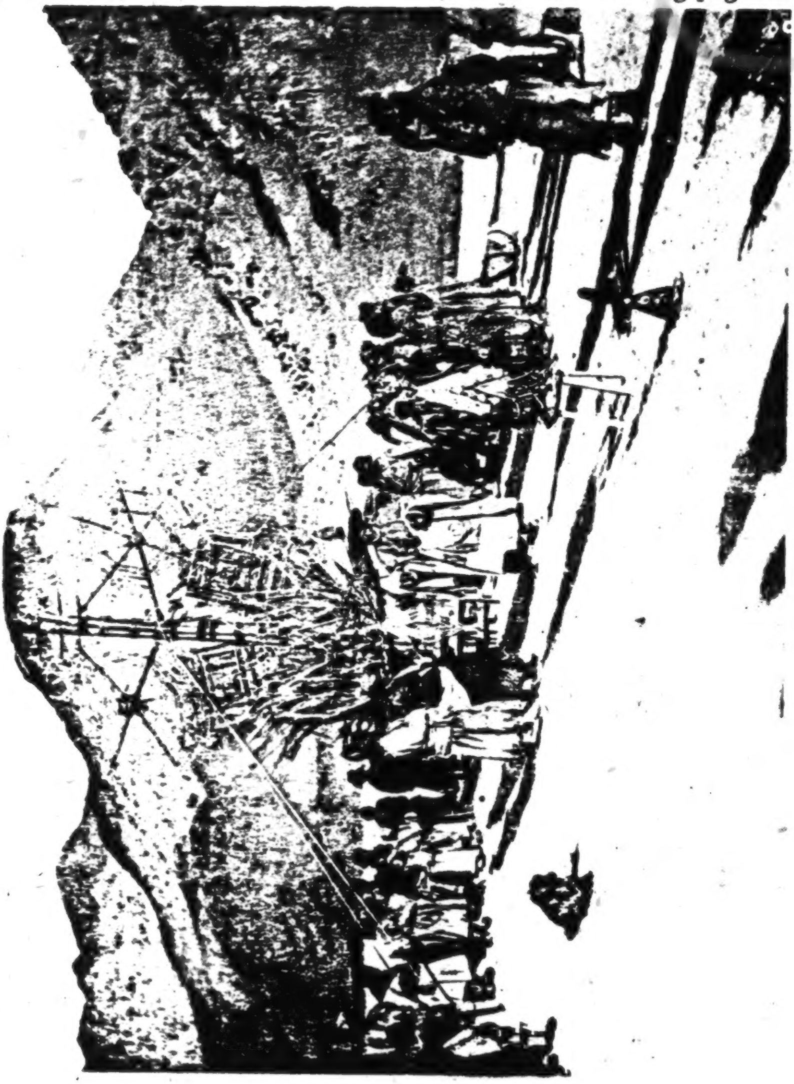
788

The great reading Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of of the country.

/Following page 160/



A dosmo.

776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/ severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness. 771

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mĉog gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire 776

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146), were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an ~~abbreviated~~ formula of

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[777] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

refuge, such as the laity predominantly uses; the lamas do not permit laymen to appeal to the Buddhas directly; that is a prerogative reserved exclusively for them.

Here is another part of a prayer which the lamas are in the habit of saying in connection with the formula of refuge. In this case a deified lama is in particular called upon as an intercessor for blessing: "Oh Lama! (147) Bless us, as you were blessed! Bless us with the blessing of the tantras (magical formulas): We implore you that you may bless us with Om (the magical syllable in which is contained power to bless)! That is the magical body. We implore you that you may purify /165/ us of the stains of the body! Increase our good fortune and keep away disease of the body! Give us the true, indestructible power of boldily life! We implore you that you may bless us with A (with the power of the magical syllable 'A')! That is the magical speech. Purify us from the stains of speech! Bestow upon us power of speech, the gift of perfect, victorious speech! We implore you that you may bless us with Hum (with the power of the magical syllable 'Hum'), which is secret (magical) thought! Purify us from the stains of thoughts! Give us understanding and a pure heart! Give us the four powers of the heart! We implore you that you may bestow upon us the powers of the true body, speech, and spirit! Om! A! Hum!

"O grant us the blessing which effaces all sins and all the stains of our evil deeds. We implore you that you allay the causes of sorrow, the sinful deeds of earlier existences! Bless us with spiritual guidance! Bless us soon with attainment of Buddha dignity (through attainment of Bodhi, that is to say, illumination)! Free us from deception (Maha) which holds up to our deceived eyes this world of appearances as reality, and in so doing produces the 'thirst' (Sanskrit, tanha) for life. Bless us by leading us on to the right, eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world! Let us serve each other in friendship! Grant us the ability to do good and to release all living creatures from suffering! Bless us with the knowledge of ourselves! Help us to be charitable from the bottom of our hearts! Help us to be as courageous as you are! Bless us through the magical might of the tantras (magical formulas), as you

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147. The appeal is here addressed to a deceased lama who has been declared a saint. The prayers cited here are taken from Waddell's Lamaismus.

782 yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All [illegible] whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remo[illegible] youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

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[775] 148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has 782
infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana.

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as follows:

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

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149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas [771]
with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A. D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles."

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator /, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lña), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

> for "teaching, preaching." The wheel is here the symbol for the law, as well as of power and of victory. Having been turned, it rolls along victoriously, overcoming all enemies and the darkness of ignorance (Sanskrit, Avidya) /literally: "not-knowing."--translator./

implore thee to take mercy on all the animals and on us for the sake of all the merit that has been amassed! When our merit has become perfect, let us not, we pray thee, remain in this world any longer!"

The older Namgyal became, the more his yearning to penetrate 00 more deeply into the mysteries of religion grew. Two forces were fighting for dominion in his soul, the old warlike spirit which had animated the ancestors on his father's side, and the penchant towards brooding and religious activity which had been lively in the forebears on his mother's side. The latter trait gained the upper hand more and more, and thus Namgyal searched for instruction in the field of religion, wherever he could find it. Frequently he would sit in the hermitage of the recluse in Skyinling, when the latter was just pausing in his meditations and for a brief period of time opened his usually locked hermitage. There he would ask questions that occupied his mind.

One day the abbot of the great Rirdsong monastery, who was 792 considered an incarnation (transubstantiation) of a great saint of former ages, had made a procession through the country with a great retinue of lamas and serving laymen. Wherever this "skushog" came he was received by a respectful crowd of people with music and gifts. Sitting on a brick throne, he received the worshippers who saw in him a divine being, a Skyabsgon (saviour); he would bestow his blessing upon those who knelt before him, with a hasty movement of his hand, and he would give each of them a colored hallowed ribbon (k'a-btags), over which he had previously mumbled a magical formula and on which he had softly spat. The holy man's spittle was believed to possess magical powers. Such ribbons which were in this manner heaped with magical power /168/, were then attached by the men to their caps, and by the women to their left shoulder. The ribbon was supposed to keep away sickness, the malicious influence of spirits, as well as all other evil, and it was credited with bringing luck to its wearers. In exchange for this, the "believers" presented costly gifts to the skushog: before his throne there stood a great number of dishes with rice, wheat flour, barley, and dried apricots; one brought a sheep, another a goat, a sack of hide with butter, and the wealthier ones gave money.

775 A small, long-haired Lhasa bitch (a kind of spaniel) was led along by a leash, as well as a donkey, in the retinue of the skushog.[1] The village children wanted to play with the little dog. But a lama earnestly prohibited them from doing so, and threatening them with a stick he chased the children away. Then Namgyal asked a lama why the animals were being brought around in the procession, and why the donkey did not have a burden to carry. The skushog liked the animals, apparently, he suggested, and probably kept them for his pleasure. The lama then reproached him for his impertinent questions. With these he insulted the holy man, he said, and that was a sin. The skushog was not looking for any pleasure at all. He was traveling through the country in order to show the stupid and sinful people, who were all going along the wrong road, onto the way of Buddha, the way of liberation. The skushog's father, he said, had been reborn in the donkey. During his life he had always abused his donkeys very badly, had fed them poorly, had beaten them cruelly, and had always loaded heavy burdens on their backs time and again, despite the fact that their backs were sore. The skushog's mother had once flung a big stone in anger at a dog that had gone into her pantry. In so doing, she had smashed the dog's hip bone so that it had to limp miserably all its life. As a punishment for this the mother was reborn as a bitch, and in this way both his parents had to bear the consequences of their sins in the bodies of animals. For this reason, said the lama, the skushog led both his parents in animal bodies with him through the country as a warning, so that the people would earnestly seek the way to release.

At the next opportunity, Namgyal questioned his father's friend, the hermit, concerning this wondrous matter. The hermit explained to him the significance of the transmigration of souls. He spoke of the law of karma, the mysterious law of cause and /169/ effect (the law of causality). Like a dark power who judges invisible to men's eyes, this law is suspended over the world and living creatures, and it adjudges to the creature in each existence that reward or punishment which it has deserved on the basis of its deeds in earlier existences, so that the fate of each, be it joy or sorrow, is supposed to be always the consequence of that which results when the good deeds have been weighed off against the bad.

The hermit showed his young friend, furthermore, a picture in the shape of a wheel with six spokes (srid-pa k'or-lo, "Wheel of the creatures"); inside each one of the segments of the circle, the picture

[1] [i.e. incarnation of a great saint of former ages. Cf. cat. 116, 175 -- Analyst]

of one of the six realms of the creatures had been drawn in together with a great number of figures: the realm of the gods, the realm of the giants who live in constant battle with each other, further the realm of human beings, in which picture the foolish and sinful actions of the human beings and the suffering which is caused by it are drastically represented: further, the realm of the animals, limbo /entrance to hell/, and hell itself where the sinners are subjected to horrible tortures. Inside a small circle in the center of the large circle three animals have been drawn in: a cock, a snake, and a pig; each of the animals is biting the tail of the animal in front. The pig is the image of ignorance, explained the hermit, which ignorance consists in the fact that man in his foolishness takes this world and all the phenomena in it, as well as all the joys and pleasures, for realities, whereas they are, after all, only appearance and deception. His spiritual blindness (Sanskrit moha, Tibetan ti-mug) prevents him from recognizing that everything to which his heart is attached in foolish desire, is only fantasy and bubbles of foam which burst as soon as one grasps for them. This foolish craving for the things of this life is the root of all evil, of all suffering. The creatures yearn to live, they lust after the seeming pleasures of life, their will to live (Sanskrit tangha, "thirst") drags them again and again, to their misfortune, into the cycle of rebirths, into new suffering. This "thirst" for life moreover leads to evil desire (the image of the cock), to sinful coveting,, and finally to the sinful deed. It leads further to hatred (the image of the snake), when people with the same sinful desire contest with each other for these apparent pleasures, and when one person opposes the /170/ other in a hostile manner. From these three roots of evil, desire, hatred, and ignorance (stupidity), there springs the evil seed of sin and of suffering, of the endless rebirths of which each brings new suffering again every time, until finally the human being is liberated from this wretched cycle by his own striving after viture and through helping "saviours" and redeemers.

Gautama Buddha showed those people who were seeking for salvation the eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world, of the right belief and the right life, by which, following his example, the pious person is to find liberation through his own forces from the bonds of existence, and illumination (Sanskrit bodhi, Tibetan, byań-ĉub), and with it, nirvana (154); that condition in which all longing, and

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154. Many commentators on Gautama Buddha's speeches

> 775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

be called 'saviour' (skyabs-mgon) and Right Reverend (rin-po-ĉe). 792
You know that many lamas lead a vicious life, and that they let the ignorant people pay dearly for their hypcritical prayers and masses, their magical arts and tricks. To such lamas apply the other words: 'If the lama cannot save his own head, how can he draw up the layman (from the morass of sins into paradise)' (155.). "

155. In Tibetan the saying reads: bla-ma rań-gi mgo ma ton-na / skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.

Namgyal was a very eager student, and he endeavored to appropriate as much as possible of Buddhistic knowledge. He studied the books which his friend gladly lent him, and let himself be initiated into the mysteries of Buddhistic wisdom by his friend and also by a young lama who had recently completed his studies in Lhasa and had received his ordination there.

The hermit admonished his pupil time and again to study industriously the Chos (the law), and to observe the commandments. The importance of knowledge was to be impressed upon his mind by the following verse (156):

156. In Tibetan: rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yan slob/
t'se adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyań/
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin/
nor de rań-nyid len-pa adra.

Learn the branches of knowledge well!
If this life brings not wisdom,
It is reserved for future ones.
It is like to self-earned treasure.

Namgyal prayed much, daily recited prayers that he had learned 788
by heart, and prayed "with hand and mouth, " by turning the manual prayer wheel more industriously than others of his age--ordinarily only the old people who are no longer capable of working and who "have the time, " are the ones who pray--and in so doing he sent up to the Great Merciful One a million times each day the wonderful six-syllable prayer "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum! " (Om! Jewel--lotus! Hum!). He did this in the belief that, as he /172/ was taught, each of these magical syllables would unlock the door to one of the six realms, and

788 that when he died, he would be translated to Amitabha's realm of joys, after he had been released from the sufferings of the rebirths through the power of this prayer. Once he asked the hermit Tsetan concerning the significance of this to him totally incomprehensible formula. The hermit explained to him that this pray[illegible] actually addressed to the gracious goddess sGrolma (Tara), the wife (shakti) of the great Merciful One. This goddess was also a mighty redeemer from all woe, and the prayer addressed to her was much more effective still, according to the hermit, than that to her spouse. These "female energies" (Tibetan nusma) were generally powerful beings, said the hermit, whose favor it was important to obtain.

782 The following event showed how the experiences and the anxieties of life often drove Namgyal to prayer. Namgyal was on a journey into the beautiful neighboring country of Kashmir with his uncle Stobsldan. One evening they had set up their tents in the densely forested Sind valley. Suddenly a very violent thunderstorm came upon them, which raged for hours into the early hours of the morning with unabated force. A hurricane-like gale broke loose and in no time at all the pegs of the tent had been torn out of the soft forest ground, and the tent itself was carried off by the gale into the darkness of the wood. Bolts of lightning flashed ceaselessly and the thunder rumbled. Twice lightning struck the tall pines extremely close to them. A cloudburst came down which, in a short period of time, transformed the forest floor into a morass. The two travelers were soaked to the skin and looked for shelter under a broad-limbed fur tree. Close by them the tremendously swollen torrential mountain brook rushed past them with a deafening roar, and it threatened to overflow its banks at any moment. Several avalanches of mud came down from the nearby slopes; the men heard the crashing of uprooted and splintering trees and the rumbling of boulders that were rolling down very close by, and yet they were unable to find a safe standing place in the darkness.

Stobsldan trembled with fear in his whole body. He was continually turning his prayer wheel which he had otherwise not used for a long time, and he prayed one "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" after the other. Now he seized his nephew by the arm and said: "Namgyal! Did you see the riders up there in the clouds, the terrible Tsan king and his Wild Hunt? Can't you hear the roaring of the thunder /173/ dragons up there as they are fighting with each other? Now the Lha-adre (demons) who ride on the dragons are also throwing hailstone from their sacks down on us. They will kill us yet! Pray, Namgyal, pray! You know so many prayers. I have forgotten them all. Perhaps the Terrible Ones will then be appeased."

Then Namgyal said a prayer (157) which his father had once

157. The Tibetan text of the two prayers goes:

1. The one addressed to the 1,000 Buddhas, and so forth:
mt'o-bai sa-na bya-ra mdzod /
dma-bai a-na me-ltse mdzod /
mun-pai nan-la sgron-me sbor /
dgra-dpun śigs-la bdud-dpun ĉom /
sam-pa sgrub-la--re-ba skoń /
t'se-dbań lońs-spyod rgyas-pa dań /
bkra śis p'un-sum- t'sogs-par agyur.

2. The prayer addressed to the enemy god:
gańs dań seń-ge agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dan ma abral-źig /
k'yuń dań sog-sgro agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
stag-dań nag-t'sal agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
snya-mo ĉu dań agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig.

With respect to the first verse, second-to-last line, it should be noted: To obtain strength to live (t'se-dbań) and a long life (t'se-rin) is the desire and the endeavor of almost all Buddhists in Tibet, and it stands in crass contradiction to the Buddhistic doctrine according to which life simply means suffering, and is therefore not worth living. The Buddhist prays for a long life; he desires it for himself and for his children and friends; the beggar wishes his benefactor: "t'se-riń-źig, may your life be long!" Parents call their child T'sering or T'sewang (Live-long or Strength-to-live). In theory the Buddhist negates life, but in practice he affirms it in the strongest possible manner.

Gańs dań seń-ge (second verse, beginning), the "ice lion": compare this with note 64! Concerning the mythical bird Garuda (Tibetan, k'yuń) see note 78! The little fish

782 (second verse, last line but one) is here, as also frequently in other instances of its occurrence in myth, thought of as a female fish; snya-mo--the syllable "mo" indicates the feminine gender.

taught him. It was addressed to the thousand Buddhas, the entire crew of Bodhisattvas, the tutelary gods (Yidam), and to the country gods:

"Keep guard up above!
Keep guard down on earth!
Kindle light in the dark night!
Vanquish army of foe and fiend!
May hope and wish both be fulfilled!
Ample wealth and strength to live,
And good luck let us receive!"

"Just recite the prayer of the hostile god (dgra-lha), too," said Stobsldan; "I once knew it by heart but have forgotten it since. I have always prayed just the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum; but it is better to pray directly to the gods up above, for then they will spare us perhaps." /The last two quotation marks supplied by the translator./ Then Namgyal prayed:

"Just as the lion stays near the glacier, (see note 64!)
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as the tail to the Garuda,
So enemy god stay joined to us!
Just as tiger always lives near forest,
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as little fish always remainsiin water,
So enemy god never be far away!"

000 \ Namgyal was often overcome by the desire to withdraw to a hermitage like the recluse and like some others of his acquaintance. To give himself over to pious exercise and meditation so that he would gain a certain claim to liberation. But then his healthy desire to live would again take the upper hand, his joy in working, the happiness he derived from his wife and children, from home and property. And Grandmother Tsering Putrid said that he was now pious enough that his piety /174/ was sufficient for this life and for the one to come; whatever

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they were making enough money on him. 000

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once. 788

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings. 782

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ṅa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ño) (158), that 784

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ño) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ňo) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsaňs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsaňs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsaňs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsaňs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

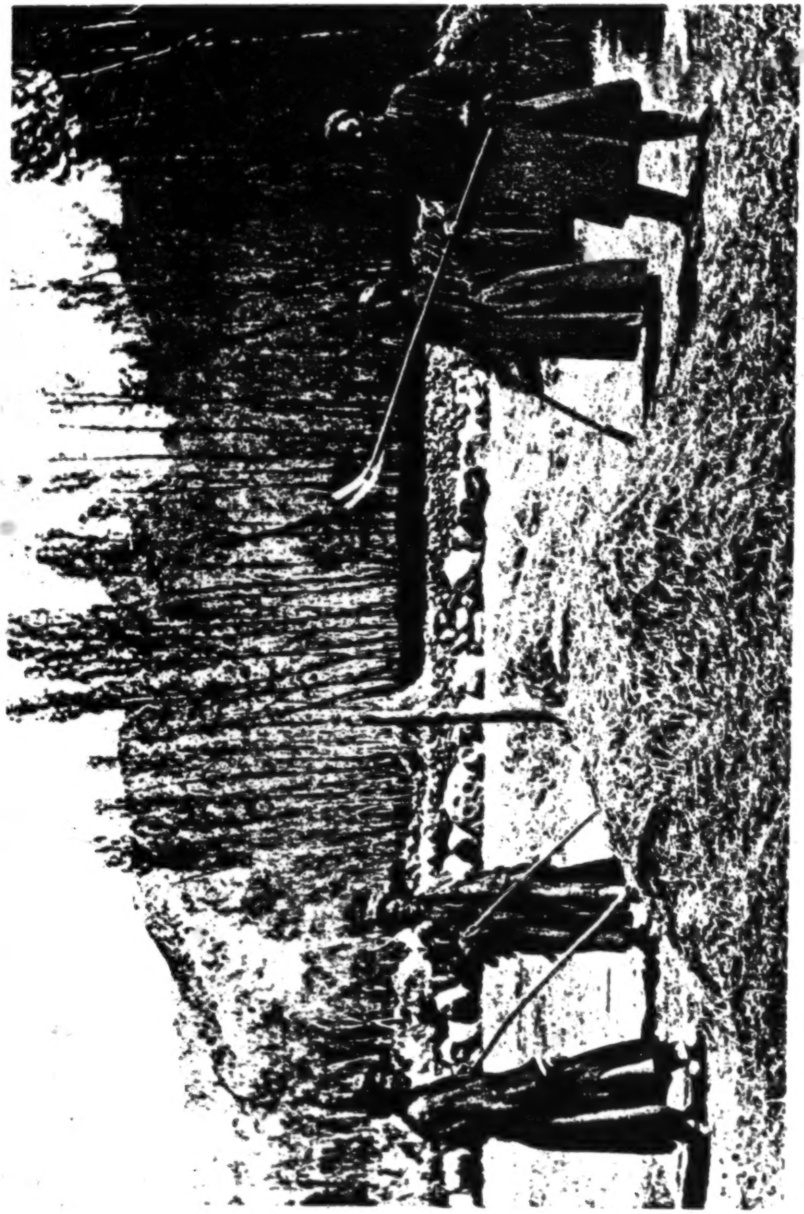
788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788 the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the whitewashing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792 for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463 mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465 pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

/Following page 176/



Threshing of the grain

/Following page 176/

Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh

463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
563 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon)
who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their
share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have
rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures
of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal
(one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously
all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas, But all these
pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his
heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha
images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound
to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into
nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle
for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all
divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he
had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas
to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He
could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake
of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good re-
lationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own
salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the command-
ments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his
yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

797 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and
had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the
lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the mis-
sionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He
spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of
the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth
himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings;
and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash
of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not
get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that
the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by
itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and
Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal
frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

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the lamas and the grumbling of the tribe. He even sought out the missionary in person in order to have him tell more about this Yeshu whose personality attracted him so strongly, and who also, it is true, provoked his contradiction with his demand to accept salvation in humility as a gift of grace. And yet--did not the lamas teach something quite similar with respect to the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, who also offered salvation out of his mercy to him who reposed his trust in him?

Namgyal was unable to speak with his relatives about these things which caused him such a severe inner battle.[1] As soon as he wanted to express himself about it towards them, he encountered first of all violent resistance and mockery. In particular his old grandmother Tsering Putrid was violently opposed: "So you want to become a Kristan? Then beware! Then you will drag us all into misfortune! Then the anger of all the gods will strike us; you will go to hell with the foreign tempter and the skushok will put us in his spell. Our relatives and the tribe will cast us out and we will be excommunicated."

The Earth-Tiger Year--A Year of Misfortune.

Namgyal's life had been a happy one since his marriage. He was joined more and more to his wife in sincere love, such as is rare in Tibetan marriages. Their three flourishing children, one boy and two girls, were their pride and joy. It is true that their mother often lacked wisdom in bringing them up, as well as the necessary firmness in taming the self-willed and violent boy and in getting him to obey. In those cases the father frequently had to speak a serious word, and occasionally he would have to make the boy understand by means of the horsewhip.

Through industry and shrewdness Namgyal had increased his property in the way of fields and of cattle. Later business trips to Jangtang /179/ had been more successful than the first one, and they had yielded a good profit. The children had grown up well and Namgyal enjoyed the respect of his compatriots far and wide. The people gradually came to put up with his inclination towards Christianity, since they saw that in spite of it he remained a good neighbor who was always ready to help. They valued him very highly as gopa (village magistrate) and they bragged that so long as people could remember they had not had such an incorruptible and wise magistrate. The

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

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159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ńos-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ńan-la śor-te mi bud.

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient 757 Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely 177 excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a [874] part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university.

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among 757 the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any 177 dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the 826 human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yañ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm.

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, 278 and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur.

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians
757 as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

remedies were made from criminals or heretics. By hook or crook people tried to secure for themselves the blood of executed persons, so that they could drink it as a remedy for epilepsy and similar afflictions; and the executioners carried on a profitable business with these things. Well into the 18th century there was usually a department of the apothecary called the "ordure apothecary," in which pigeon droppings, mouse droppings, excrement of dogs, and other unclean matters were sold and realized a good profit. "Mumia" was highly coveted; it was a material manufactured from the parts of criminals' bodies, as a substitute for Egyptian mummies which were greatly coveted as a remedy but which were difficult to obtain and very expensive. It is possible that modern hormone research will prove that in the case of some of these remedies, which to us appear very strange, instinct and experience led man on to the right track. 000

The lamas together with the lharje searched for the causes of the disease. Then one day grandmother Tsering Putrid, who was eagerly assisting in the search, found a goat's horn under the threshold of the door. In the hollow part of the horn was stuck a slip of paper on which a child had been drawn in rough outline. Around the picture magical formulas had been written, partly in incomprehensible Sanskrit words, and partly in Tibetan, whose meaning was to the effect that Namgyal's eldest son was to be sick and would die. Now the cause of the illness was known, she thought. But who had placed the goat's horn with the charm under the threshold? Tsering Putrid knew this, at least she asserted that she did. She said that she had recently observed how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had busied herself in a suspicious manner close by the house, where she had no business being in the first place. Really, those people from the Cat's-mouth house! They are a false crew! There had been a reason why at the time they and their house had been given the name "Cat's mouth": always friendly to your face, and behind your back false and malicious! It was definite that the Chondsom girl was behind the matter, she was going to fix her. To want to kill her great-grandson! She swore by the "Three Jewels" and by all the Buddhas and gods of the monastery, who were to "come and get her" if it wasn't true, that Chondsom and no one else wanted to murder the boy! She had always followed the handsome boy enviously with her "evil look." It was of no avail that 754

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a [685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that: so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go! For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering, and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time. 753

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house; and to carry out his business. The lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain 755 755 776

755 776 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong, the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; ~~lured by~~ the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 755 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned [776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror; for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 776 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

754 Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously
in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an
evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this
he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made
little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect
of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway,
had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the
woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which
which always had the same effect.

797 Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand: she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

164 The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

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161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed. [827]

164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do 751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment, he 766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial:" In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The 753 Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal.

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), 754 literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from [789] greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out 187/ shrewed inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are

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162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)

754 which are mixed in with those pills, are called in Tibetan: sna-dri, rṅul-ču, rkyag-pa, gcin, mṅal-k'rag. There also exists, in Tibetan medicine, a compound of ten such unclean things.

derived from the human body. The pills may also be made entirely without the plant poisons. The pills are then secretly put in the food of the person one wants to harm, with a curse and an evil wish: "Become blind! Become mad! Lose your teeth! Become sick! Die!" and so forth. If the person threatened in this manner is born under a favorable star, and if his astrological signs (Sparka, Mewa, Lungrta, and others) are favorable ones, then the pills and the charm are incapable of harming the person in any way; if the case is otherwise, then they bring sickness, chronic ill health, yes, under certain circumstances even death, so say the Tibetans.

755 The lharje and the lamas exhausted their entire store of medicinal and magical lore; all was in vain. The woman from the "House of the Thrown-out" became increasingly worse instead of better. For days on end she lay in a feverish coma, then she fell into a deathlike condition so that her physicians gave her up for lost.

Finally there appeared a Lhapa (demon priest) from Lhasa who had been staying in Ladakh for some time and who traveled around in order to effect "cures." People flocked to him, and he was considered a great magical doctor. When he appeared the great man asked the people from the P'arlap'ang house what they wanted from him. The people asked him to call back the "escaped soul" of the woman. The Lhapa promised to do this. After having fasted and meditated briefly in his house, he came to the P'arlap'ang house and there made his preparations for the cure. He washed his hands, had a little table and a measure of barley brought to him. From the barley grains he formed a magical circle (dkyil-ak'or) on the little table; next to it he placed five small brass offering bowls, filling them in part with beer, and in part with barley grains. Then he threw juniper twigs and berries onto an iron pan with red-hot coals (me-ap'or), placed a crown made of papier-mache /188/ on his head, on the five leaves of which are painted the five Dhyani Buddhas. Then he took a small double drum constructed from two children's skulls; by quickly turning his hand to and fro he made a noise with it, caused by two small balls fastened to strings which alternately struck the two drum heads. With his other (left) hand he incessantly swung the magical bell and the magical dagger.

The Lhapa now invoked his tutelary demon who entered into him, so that the Lhapa entered into a state of ecstasy; he became excited, his eyes became glazed, he foamed at the mouth, he jumped up, uttering shrill screams he danced around madly. Now the spirit asked, speaking from the medium (the Lhapa): "Who has called me?" Someone answered: "The Lhapa! Who has caused the illness of the P'arlap'ang-Rolma girl?" The spirit answered: "The Naskorpas!" Someone asked: "What are we to do against the sickness? How are we to bring back the life that has fled from the woman?" The Lha (the spirit within the Lhapa) now commanded that a skurim (offering ceremony) was to be held and that a scattered offering was to be presented. The ceremony used here is called: "Lha-k'ug tse-k'ug."

All these instructions were followed by the lamas, the prayers and the ceremonies were performed and the offerings were presented. But the sick woman remained in her deathlike state. Then the lama brought 'mane' pills which he had brought with him from Lhasa. These pills had been prepared by the lama doctors of the school of medicine on the Lchakpori in Lhasa. In them was contained the wonderful power of the magical syllable "Shri" (Sanskrit, hri) which forced the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, to cure the sickness. The "Great Merciful One" appeared here in his manifestation as the "Lion-voiced One" (Simhanada) /in the form of the Lhapa, I presume, --translator./, in which he could "cure all sickness." All kinds of materials from the corpse of a saint who died in Tibet, were also supposed to be contained in the pills. The pills were administered to the sick woman in the following manner. The bronze figure of a Yidam (tutelary god), which was hollow on the inside, and which sat on its base with the mouth wide open, was placed on the patient's mouth so that the pills traveled through the figure into the mouth of the sick woman. This was supposed to heighten the healing power of the pills. But they, too, remained without effect.

/189/ Finally, when nothing was of any avail, the Lhapa declared that he now wanted to draw forth the poison of the dirt pills from the sick woman's body. He brought a wooden pipe the length of half a meter, and placing one end of the pipe on the woman's bare body he took the other end in his mouth and sucked at it energetically. Then he swung the tube around, flinging a tough, greenish mass out of it onto the floor, and declared that it was the disease substance, the poison from those pills. He said that the woman would now recuperate. But the latter continued lying on her bed like a dead person. At last

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons,
766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened." (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsṅal gtam ṅan gsum--sṅon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/

The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ṅu) as a reservation for his aging

> parents who are no longer able to work much or to help, and to assign to them a few fields for their livelihood. Often this reservation (property reserved for old people) turns out to be very scant, and the old parents are then forced to live a life of penury. 888

and for the grandmother Putrid, and apportioned them an ample amount of arable land from the yield of which his parents, who were still very active people, could live quite well. In the working of the fields, and in other respects, too, the son and grandson faithfully helped the old people who, in their turn, still assisted him as far as it was in their power to do so.

During this time Namgyal visited the missionary more frequently than usual. With him he read the story of Jesus from the Gospels. The reflective man was more and more strongly attracted by the person of Jesus. But he was still held by strong ties to Buddha and his teachings, and his regard for the powerful tribe restrained him from turning to Christianity in any decisive manner.

Now they had entered the Wood-Ape year. According to the various horoscopes constructed by the devil tamer and by the lama prophets, it was to be a particularly fortunate year for the entire country, and quite especially so for the house of the Dragshos. All the stars and astrological signs pointed to luck and prosperity, so said those wise men.

But again things turned out differently from the way they had been calculated by the wisdom of the prophets who, incidentally, had not been consulted by Namgyal but by the women of the house.

The winter from the Water-Sheep year to the Wood-Ape year was an unusually cold one, and one in which an unusually large amount 731 of snow had fallen. The farmers' sheep and goats were in great distress because it was impossible to send them, as they usually did in winter, up the mountains for pasturing; and the little hay that had been gathered in autumn, was not even sufficient for the horses and the cattle. The traffic from village to village had been made difficult by the great masses of snow; some villages were completely cut off from any kind of communication with the outside; and the mountain passes were insurmountable. At the Sodshi pass, /191/ the entrance from Kashmir into Ladakh, three men, a postal courier and two companions, were engulfed in an avalanche and were killed. At Serkachan-La (pass) two men together with a loaded yak fell down the crack of a glacier

731 and could not be rescued. Driven by hunger, animals of prey frequently penetrated into the villages and carried off livestock wherever they could find it. The wolves and the wild dogs wrought particularly bad ravages among the villagers' sheep herds, so that the villagers scarcely dared to drive their sheep out for watering any more.

A very warm Spring brought with it the very sudden melting of the snow and great floods. The tiniest little brook was turned into a torrential stream, all the empty river beds and channels of the Ladakh wilderness were filled with water. In neighboring Domkhar, in Skyurbuchan, and in many villages along the Indus and its tributaries, torrential brooks and avalanches of mud tore away the farmers' laboriously constructed terraced fields together with the young seed. A mountain slide, caused by the melted water, dammed up the water of the powerful brook in the side valley of Domkhar, so that a large lake was formed. Two weeks later the dammed up floods had eaten their way through the dam; the water masses that hurtled down into the valley, destroyed all the best fields in the valley floor and high upon the slopes of the mountains; they tore open the bottom of the valley and carried down with them soil, stones, and large boulders, so that the floor of the valley was henceforth four to five meters lower than before; and the mills which before used to stand by the brook, now hung high above it along the wall of the valley, insofar as they had not been torn along. Two houses were carried off by the floods, and several cows, donkeys, and much small livestock perished in the inundation. Two women were also drowned as they were wading through a swollen brook.

In the early summer there were, contrary to all former experience, a great many violent thunder storms (165), such as the oldest

[132] 165. Thunder storms are rare and hardly ever violent in the high altitudes of Tibet (altitudes of over 3,000 meters). This is so because of the great dryness and minimal density of the atmosphere at these heights. For the very greatest part Tibet is a mountain wilderness. Its thin, dry atmosphere permits of only a slight formation of clouds and accumulation of electricity.

821 people could not remember ever having witnessed. In the fifth month there occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sixth month brought a total eclipse of the sun. Both astral phenomena created great agitation

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to 821

166. The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the K̊alatse reservoir and water-line strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community. 731 [689]

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected. [789]

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been 787

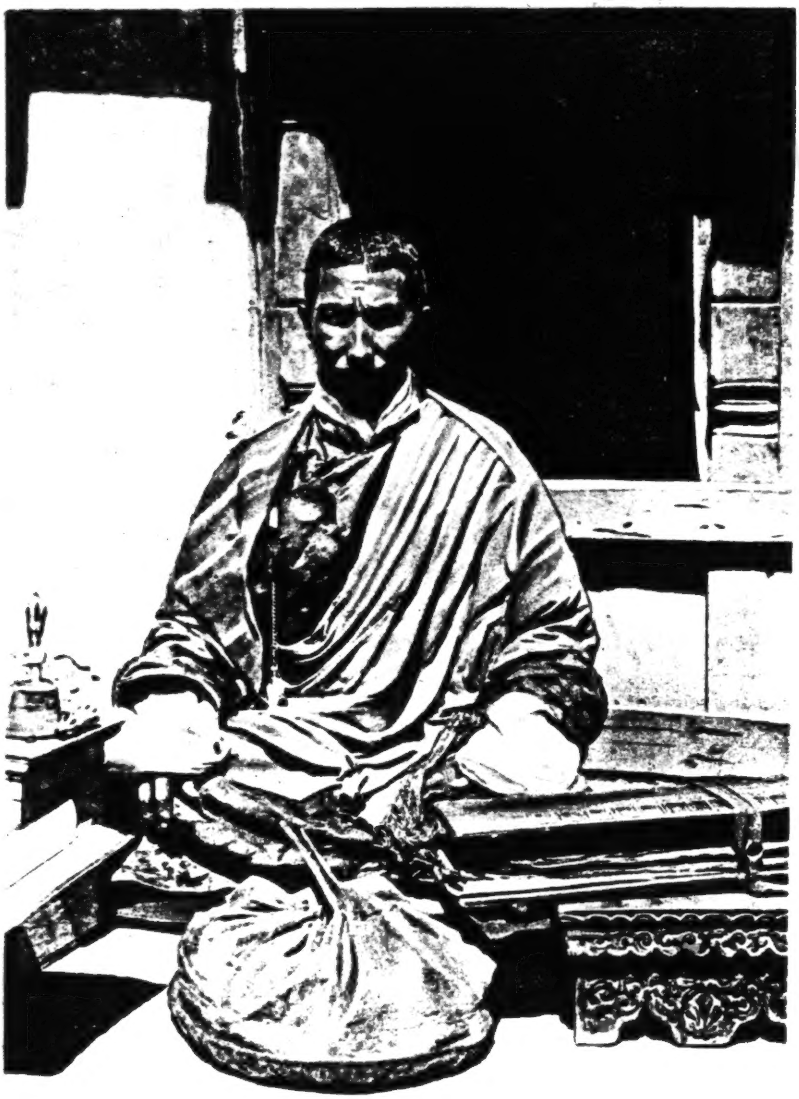
787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle). / /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

789 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731
426 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

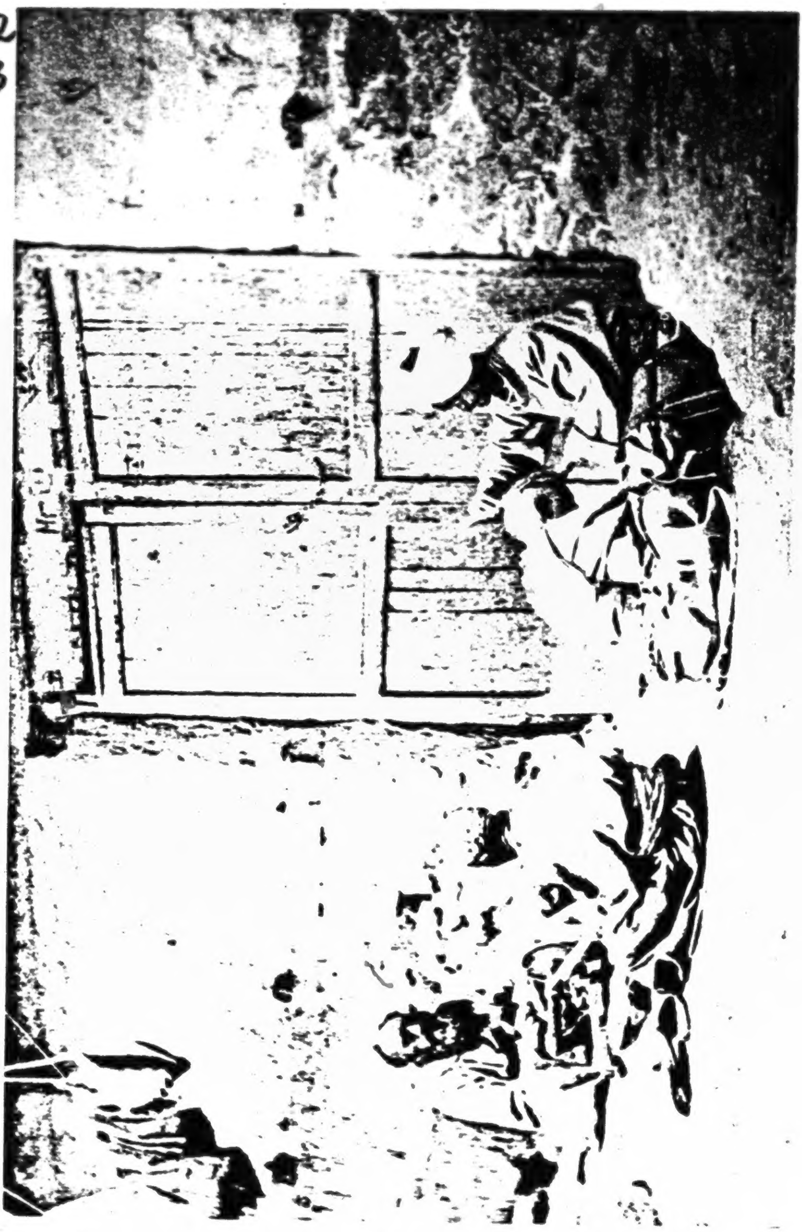
/Following page 192/

759



A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book

/Following page 192/



Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen, " in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him. 731 426

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials. [661]

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said. 731

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage. 000

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in, Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gopa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 625 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed 578
Namgyal busying himself in a suspicious manner around this particular wall of the house. The witness, he said, was even a lama from Kalatse. Namgyal now soon learned that his accuser was the lama Dondrub, the man who had for a long time been persecuting Namgyal with slanders and hostile acts, and who had also accused him of bribery and embezzlement of tax money, and the like. This he did as the revenge for the fact that Namgyal had said to him publicly to his face that he was charging the people prices that were far too high for the household ceremonies that he performed: that he lent grain and money at usurious rates of interest, and that he led an immoral life. The lama Dondrub had chanced to meet Namgyal near this house as he was walking by himself, and he believed to have found an opportunity with this to rid himself of an inconvenient observer for awhile, in case his accusations brought Namgyal into jail. It later came to light that the lama had put a sum of money into Gobinath's hand, for which the latter promised "to do the thing right."

In the police prison Namgyal first of all witnessed how Gobinath 625 interrogated in turn four "suspects," and when they did not confess, how he whipped them in the most violent manner, tortured them with thumb screws (167) and other tools in the most pitiless way, in order to wring a confession out of them. In between he would frequently take a swallow from a brandy bottle that was standing by. Namgyal observed how Gobinath suddenly interrupted the torturing of one of his victims when the latter called to him amidst howls that he had something important to communicate. After the tortured man had then whispered something to his torturer the latter freed his victim. In Tibet, too, money loosens bonds.

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167. In Greater Tibet, in the realm of the Dalai Lama, even today the most horrible tortures are applied for the forcing of confessions. Of all the devilish inventions of the torturers we will only mention here, by way of suggestion, the following: thumb screws, whipping, drops of melted sealing wax on the bare parts of the body of the accused. The tortured victim is prevented from sleeping by means of two little iron hooks connected by a string which are hooked into the lower eyelids and the skin of the belly so that the lids are pulled down and cannot be closed. Many kinds of executions are correspondingly cruel.

625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dornkhar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (168) Gobinath released Namgyal with the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

168. See not 48!

of spirits. In so doing, a certain demon was invoked by them after previous fasting and meditation. This demon was supposed to enter into the Lhapa and was then supposed to speak from the obsessed person and to answer the questions put to him. Only when they are forced by /198/ their superiors, did the Lhapas carry out this demon service of which at bottom they had a horror themselves. The Tibetans maintained that these spirits enter exclusively into persons with bad astrological signs. Among these spirits there are even such as belong to deceased persons.

With some servants and police soldiers the Wasir rode to Mashro. There he had two Lhapas come, and with them, with his servants and the superior lamas, he went into the gorge above the monastery where in two trees, by each of which there stood a lhato (idol altar), the Lhas supposedly have their dwelling places. There the Wasir now addressed three questions to the Lhapas who had already transported themselves into the correct ecstasy: "Who is the thief, and where is he keeping himself?" Upon the correct answering of this question each of the Lhapas was to receive twenty-five rupees. If they were unable to answer this question they were to indicate where the stolen goods were hidden. The correct answer was then to be rewarded with fifteen rupees for each. If the Lhapas were unable to answer this question likewise, then they were at least to say whether the thief was a native or a stranger, which way he had taken on his flight, and whether the stolen goods could even be found at all any more. The correct answer was to bring in a reward of ten rupees for each Lhapa. But if they left even this question unanswered, then the Wasir would have the lamas whipped thoroughly "until they burst."

The two Lhapas into whom the Lha was supposed to have entered, something which manifested itself through excited movements, glazed expressions, and foaming at the mouth, did not give an answer at first. The two unfortunates were apparently willy-nilly dragged this way and that by an invisible power. The superior lamas, who observed everything very carefully, said that the demons gave indications of departing because the Wasir had threatened too much. A few lamas attempted to hold on to the unwilling spirit by means of exorcisms and of music of trumpets, drums, and kettle drums. Finally, after a long wait, a spirit spoke forth from the Lhapa: "We are bound in the Beyond by the power of the great lama's magic. We may not name the name of the thief. But the stolen goods will not be lost, they will appear after a short while. The thief is no Tibetan, no /199/ man of Ladakh; he is

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

539

Quiet, well-behaved, you should
Only look up to heaven.
Clearly recognize the mirage!
You believers, consider
The fruits of your deeds,
Weighing good and evil!
If you always do what's right
You shall never be deceived.

From "Courtly Songs" (of the Tibetans),
Number 35. Edited by A.H. Francke.

There now followed for Namgyal a few quiet weeks in Kalatse OCC during which he took care of his last autumn labors. During the evening hours he now visited the missionary even more frequently, in order to converse with him about the t'arlam, the way to salvation, a topic of conversation which occupied him strongly in recent times and which left him no rest. He came increasingly more to the conviction that the "way of Jesus" was the only right one, which led to inner freedom and with it to genuine happiness. In recent times it happened more frequently that, as he was coming home from the Brother, there was a radiance in his expression, as though he had experienced something great. Even his relatives noticed this, and they were unable to explain it to themselves.

During this time, Namgyal one day set out on his way to Domkhar. There he was going to help a relative who had suffered particularly great damage from the floods in the spring, in reclaiming his fields and in rebuilding his mill that had been left high and dry. His stay was only designed to last for half a month. Nevertheless his departure from wife and children was particularly difficult for the Dragshos this time. He could not explain why. He took his youngest child, the little Rinchen Stobsgyas, in his arms, called him the apple of his eye (migbras) and kissed him. "Lamla k'adar dzad! Brtan-po skyod, Gaga!" (Take care of yourself on the way! Look out when you walk, master!), his wife Chosskyid admonished, her spouse lovingly and with /201/ accustomed reverence. Then Namgyal mounted his horse, a young, fiery stallion from Sangskar, an animal with "sinews like steel and hoofs like iron." As soon as it felt the reins, the animal immediately started out at a steady amble. The way followed at first the trading route from Leh to Srinagar and went close by the farmstead

000 of the missionary. As Namgyal came to the gate of the farmstead the Brother was just standing there as though he had waited for Namgyal. Namgyal rode close up to the gate and stepped down from the horse, in order to greet the Brother whom he loved and revered highly as a teacher.

The two shook hands and a short conversation ensued; when they parted the Brother said: "Do you still remember what we were talking about the other evening?" "Yes," said Namgyal, "I think of it constantly, it won't leave me. Yeshu Mashika (Jesus Christ) is greater than all the Buddhas and 'saviours' of whom the lamas speak and the books tell. I now take my refuge with Yeshu!" "Do that, then you will arrive at the goal." "Zu, zu!" The greeting went back and forth; the Dragshos was already in the saddle again and flying along on his cream-colored horse which all this time had been pawing the ground restlessly and had bitten excitedly into the snaffle. The Brother looked after his friend. How he knew how to rein in his restless horse! "A real Dragshos, a descendant of the warlike forebears. If this Dragshos were to become a fighter for Jesus!" So thought the Brother.

Already the rider had disappeared behind the prayer wall which ran alongside the street above the farmstead A great and joyful hope, and yet at the same time also an inexplicable dread went through the Brother's soul.. If it should happen otherwise!

Namgyal had another encounter. He was just turning off from the great trade route and riding past the bridge of the Dogra fort, which here connects both banks of the Indus River; when a lama was coming along the way, likewise on horseback who had crossed the river on his way from Lamayuru. It was the Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house, the man who had wanted to put Namgyal in jail. The lama wanted to ride on; but his horse would not allow him to do so. His horse was a stallion like Namgyal's /202/ cream-colored horse. In spite of all the lama's resistance and all the belaboring of his horse with whip and spurs, his horse, over which he had lost the mastery, made for the cream-colored one, reared itself furiously and neighed and looked like it was ready to do battle. The Dragshos tore his stronger horse back, but the lama's horse followed him constantly, and rearing itself it struck with its front hoofs at Namgyal's horse, which the latter returned with superior force. Then Namgyal's whip whistled through the air twice, hard by the lama's back on the haunches of his horse which now kicked its legs backward and raced off with its rider. "Hold tight!" Namgyal shouted after the man who was frightened to death and who was clutching frantically his saddle and the mane of his horse. The Dragshos had just overcome a great temptation with this shout of admonition: When the lama's horse brought its rider so unintentionally within the reach of his whip, a feeling of anger was aroused in Namgyal's heart, and the idea came to him of meeting out a powerful punishment to his enemy. But he mastered himself. He thought of what he had read with the Brother about Jesus: "Love your enemies!" the latter had commanded his successors. Then his wrist twitched and the blow was aimed in another direction.

Exerting all his forces, Namgyal brought his excited horse to a more quiet pace. And that was necessary. The path, which here went along the Indus, became narrower and progressively worse. Leaving the bottom of the valley he now climbed up a steep mountain wall, across slopes covered with loose boulders. Where the road was built up along the wall of the cliff, by means of unhewn, loose stones, without mortar, it was so narrow that one loaded horse could scarcely pass another. Now Namgyal arrived at a sharp turn of the cliff where the path went steeply downhill, and the rider no longer saw a road before him, but only the roaring waters of the Indus. Namgyal knew the way. He had often ridden along it. With an iron grip he held the reins and spoke soothingly to the horse which went down the steep path ambling sideways, still resisting the reins and the pressure on its haunches. Namgyal was just about to tear his stallion at a right angle around the projection of the rock, when the horse suddenly took a leap /203/ to the side. A snow vulture had been frightened away from a carrion corpse up on the cliff, and flew rapidly close over the heads of rider and horse. In the jump the front feet of the frightened horse landed on the extreme edge of the road, the loosely heaped-up stones gave way, and horse as well as rider crashed down the perpendicular slope.

A number of Domkhar farmers who soon afterwards were traveling along this way with loaded dsos (bastard yaks), noticed the horse down below by the cliff. It lay there immobile, and they recognized it immediately. Its neck had been broken by the fall. With great difficulty the men climbed down and found the Dragshos who was silently lying there with shattered limbs and who did not give any sign of life. With extreme effort the Domkhar farmers carried the mortally wounded man up to the road by a roundabout way. They unloaded a dso and packed some straw-filled sacks on it. On top and in between these

000 sacks they laid the victim of the accident. In this manner they brought the Dragshos to his house in Kalatse.

Chosskyid felt as if lightning had struck her when they placed before her feet in the house the immobile body of her husband; her husband, the distinguished-looking, strong man of whom she was so proud, the good man whom she loved so much. At first the woman was stunned and close to fainting. Then her grief vented itself in a scream and in loud crying, finally she controlled herself and just cried quietly to herself as she laid her beloved man down on his bed. She knew that her husband had not liked the wailing of lamentation. And after all he was still alive. Perhaps he would not yet leave her. They sent for the lharje (doctor), who was not to be found; they sent for the missionary, but he too had ridden off in order to look after the sick people in Tingmogang. So they left the Dragshos lying, and Chosskyid washed his great, gaping head wound, while old Stobsldan sat down next to the mortally injured nephew and ceaselessly turned the prayer wheel. The children, Namgyal's parents, the grandmother Tsering Putrid as well as other relatives stood around the bed all crying loudly.

Hours later he once more regained conciousness. Namgyal recognized his wife and the children. In a low voice /204/ he told them what had happened and consoled his crying wife who was kneeling with the youngest child at her breast, beside the death-bed of her husband. He wanted to raise his hand in order to stroke the child's head; it was impossible; both arms, as well as his legs, were broken. The dull eyes of the dying man rested for a few moments with an expression of tender love upon the wife and the children; the Namgyal asked: "Where is the Sahib? Call the Sahib!" They had to tell him that the missionary was gone and that he could not be back before the evening. Then the old Tsering Putrid pressed forward to the bed and said: "Namgyal! Have the lamas called! Now you need the lamas so that they can pray and perform skurim!" "No," said Namgyal, "I do not need the lamas. Give my regards to the missionary and tell him that I am taking my refuge with Yeshu!" Another glance of the breaking eyes at wife and children, then the eyes closed, his breathing ceased, and Drogpa Namgyal's soul had fled from his body.

763 Deeply shaken, Chosskyid stood by the death bed of her husband. Her mourning was real, but she had learned to control her feelings; she bore her grief courageously. With all the greater abandonment did Tsering Putrid give herself over to grieving. She howled, lamented, tore her hair, was vociferous in her complaints against the missionary.

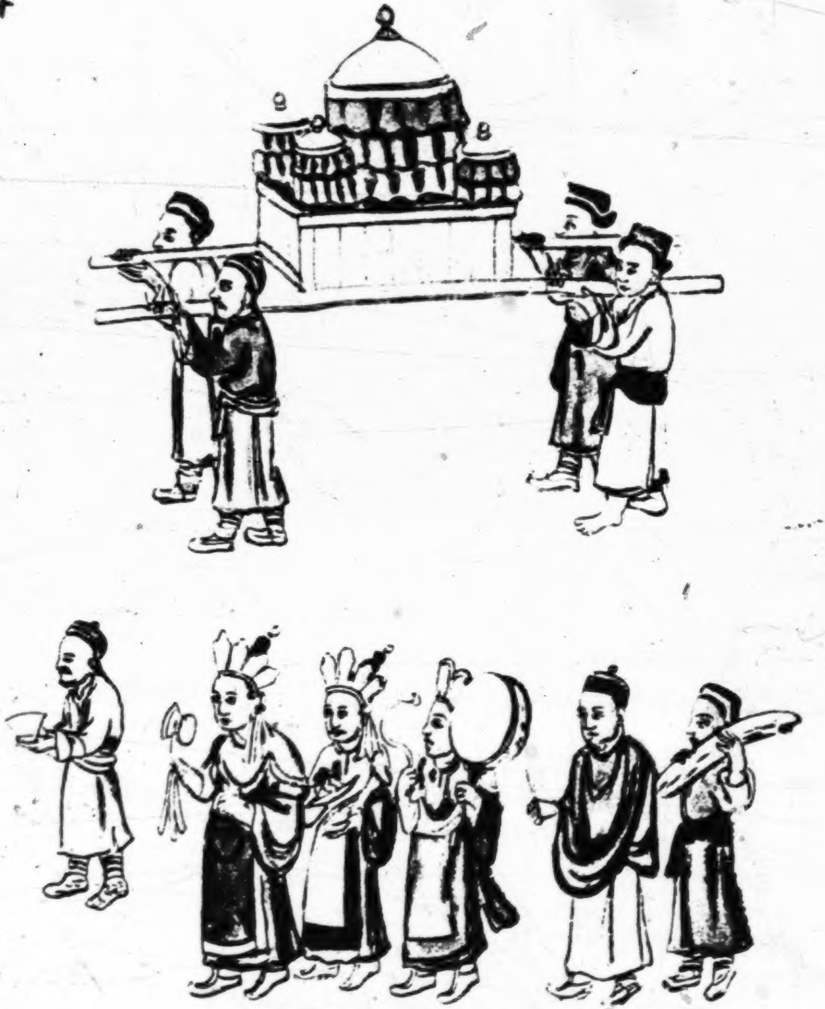
who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grandson away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. 763 For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people.

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had 764 been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa).

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

/Following page 204/



Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position.

000 not allowed to enter--and spoke with Namgyal's parents, with Stobsldan, and with a few of the deceased man's relatives. He said a few words of consolation to the dead man's wife who stepped into the house door, and to the children who all liked him. He himself was profoundly grieved over the loss of his friend upon whom he had placed such high hopes. He spoke of Him who has overcome death and all demons, and who safely leads the believer into Paradise. Then he went back to his house, extremely saddened, and yet full of joyous assurance. Today the sun had gone up like a ball of red fire above the mountains. To the Brother it was like a symbol. His eye saw a dawn shining forth in the distance over the dark snow landscape of Tibet. This made him happy.

A little while later the hermit Tsetan arrived. The messenger of Namgyal's death had been brought to him in his lonely hermitage in the gorge. Contrary to all rules, he interrupted the meditations he had just commenced /Following p. 205 there are two full-page illustrations inserted in the text, the first with the subtitle: "Tibetan burden carrier"; the second of three squatting "Mon (musicians)" (subtitle). / /206/ and came to the Dragshos house. As a distant relative and as a lama he was admitted into the house. Amid tears the warm-hearted, sensitive man saw his dead friend and pupil and looked into his rigid facial expression. He felt as though he had lost a son. When Tsering Putrid said to him in a tone of annoyance that her grandson had taken his refuge with the God of the Kristan, Yeshu, when he was dying, the hermit replied with a serious mien: "Do not be angry at him for that. Your grandson has taken a good way. I myself have come to recognize that the way and the teaching of Yeshu is good. It is wrong to believe in the thousands of Buddhas and gods, and to sacrifice to them; there is but one God and one Saviour; to believe in Him and to turn one's thoughts in meditation upon him, that is the true religion." The hermit had not yet finished speaking when the lonpo from Domkhar entered, who had been very close to the deceased person, his relative. For grief he was long incapable of producing a single word. But then he said, in connection with the hermit's words: "Yes, what you said just now, right reverend lama, that is correct and good. I, too, believe that the deceased has done right in taking his refuge with Yeshu. I also believe that the Sahib preaches the right and true religion. You will do well if you listen to him."

At these words of the lonpo, Chosskyid, who was now a widow, entered the room with the little Rinchen Stobgyas on her arm, and

/Following page 205/

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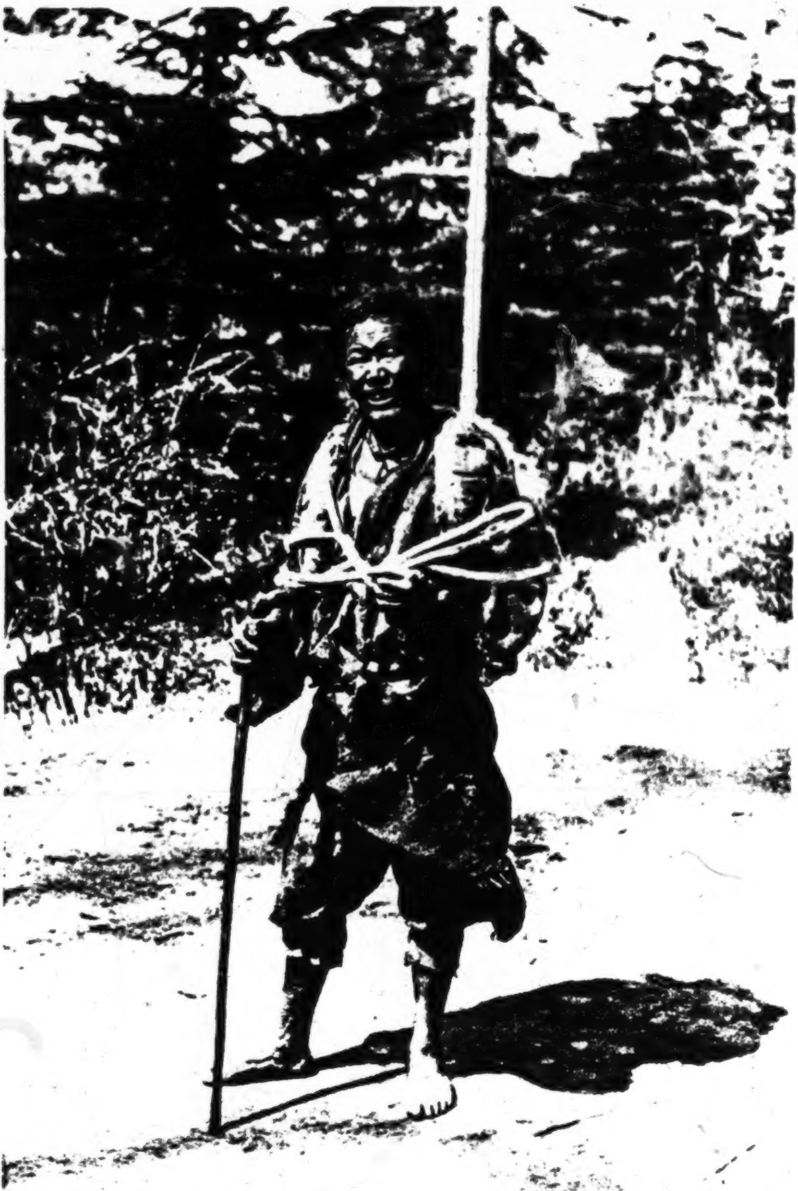

Tibetan burden carrier

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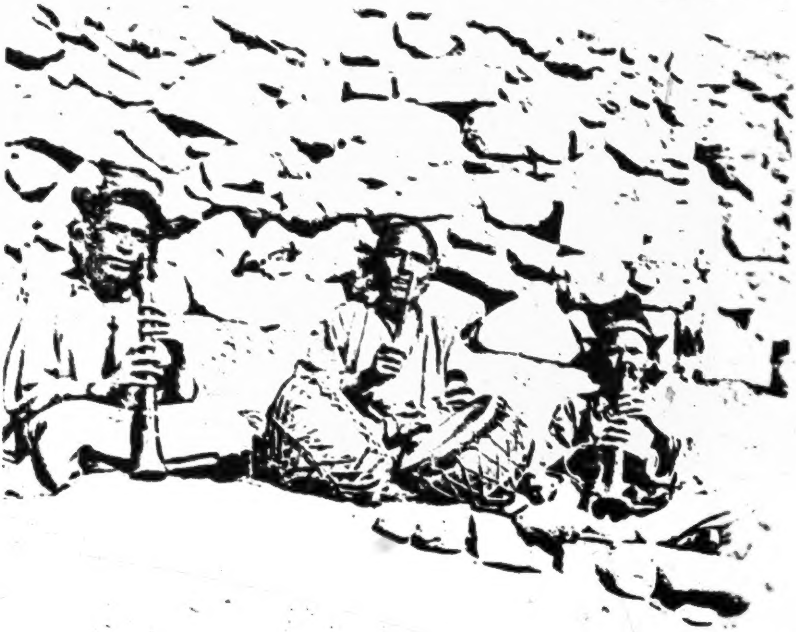

Mon (musicians)

stood crying next to the lonpo. The latter continued, placing his hand 000 on the child's little head: "Yeshu will one day carry off the victory over all Buddhas and gods of the land. And even if we old people will no longer accept his doctrine, at least these children will do so. And then happiness and peace will enter the dark snow-covered land of Tibet."

BURIAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE BUDDHISTIC TIBETANS

by

Josef Gergan (Leh, Ladakh)

Translated from the Tibetan and annotated

by

S. H. Ribbach

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FOREWORD

The work that I append here, dealing with burial customs and interment rites among the Tibetans, was written by Josef Gergan in Leh, Ladakh, a full Tibetan by race. Since my activity as a missionary came to a premature conclusion through the World War, after 21 years of service in Ladakh, it was not possible for me to conclude my studies in this very difficult field there on the spot. Gergan has done his work with thoroughness. As he has written to me, he has extensively questioned the abbot of a neighboring monastery belonging to the reformed Geldanpa sect, as well as a lama of the likewise reformed Drugpa sect (abrugpa), and also a soothsayer and magician (onpo) of the Bon religion. The latter religion stands next to Buddhism and 114

114 possibly holds an even stronger spell than it does, over the minds of the Tibetans. The information that Gergan received from these men he has written exactly. The Bon priest even supplied him with his "Introduction on how to set the death horoscope," so that he could copy it. Gergan gives in the following study a number of samples of this wisdom of the soothsayers and astrologers, in which frequently the wisdom of the old magicians of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, is reflected.

I have translated Gergan's essay from the Tibetan and have provided it with explanatory notes; for the rest (except for small changes in the order, which seemed necessary), I have changed nothing about the essay. What is here presented is therefore a reproduction of the original Tibetan document, which is faithful to the letter. The additions in parentheses and the majority of the headings are done by myself.

Unlike the reports by Emil Schlagintweit (Buddhism in Tibet), by Waddell (The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism), and the information that I am able to find scattered here and there in the travel accounts by Sven Hedin, Tafel, and others concerning the funeral practices of the Tibetans, Josef Gergan's presentation goes into details to a great extent, and it indicates by a concrete example the richly furnished cult of the dead among the Tibetans. In the same example is reflected the picture of the religion /210/ of Tibet, Lamaism. This religion presents itself to us as a confused tangle of elements belonging to the old animistic religion of the people, of Buddhism, of the Bon religion which penetrated into the country at approximately the same time, of Hinduism, and of other factors. But here our ears are also struck by the cry of fear of a tortured people's soul, tortured by the double fear: First of all of retribution for one's own sinful acts, through the sinister karma; and secondly of the numberless spirits that threaten the soul in all its existential forms both in this world and in the Beyond. And we witness the terrible thing, that the person so racked is driven into the arms of avaricious priests and magicians who swindle and deceive him in the most shameless manner.

S. H. Ribbach.

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CONCERNING THE MANNER OF BURING THE DEAD AND THE RITES OF THE DEAD AMONG THE BUDDHISTIC INHABITANTS OF LADAKH

The Burial of Children

When a baby or a one to two year old child dies, (the corpse) is laid inside an earthen vessel or in a little box, and thus walled up into the wall of its own house (of the parents). Until the age of eight no kind of funeral ceremony is performed for children, the corpse is not cremated; it is carried into the mountain wilderness and hidden there. A lama makes a scattered offering (gtor-ma) (1), pronounces a prayer, gives the children (present) little rolls (p'u-li), roasted barley, and the like. This is known as the children's meal (byis-ston). In general (it is so) that at the death of children who have passed the eighth year of their life, the same death and purification rites are observed as in the case of adults; but some people also say that when somebody under twelve years of age dies no death rites have to be undertaken. The fact that no funeral rites are performed for people under their eighth or twelfth year is explaining in the following manner:

> 1. When this scattered offering is carried out, aside from water, also larger and smaller pills made of bread dough to the size of "sheep pills" (!)--108 of such pills--are presented to the gods: to the gods up above (in heaven) five such "meals"; to the Pretas down below in the underworld and in limbo, and to the others each five of such "meals." Offerings are made in this manner to the eight p'yi-lus, to the abyuṅ-po, and to the mi-ma-yin (spirits). This cast or scattered offering is presented according to (the instructions in) the book: P'al-ĉer brgya rtsa (the "Ordinary Hundred," namely, storma offerings).

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

> 2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-raṅs sṅa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guṅ t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p̣'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sṅon-du dgoṅs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 775 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the 763
case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body 775
through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said.

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that 775
he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features).

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) be- 775
come nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy 789
thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/ Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

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3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wentz: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

764 795 Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

> 5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gšed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into 764 the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters, the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel.

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, 764 and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies 783 then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person concerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and [688] dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgañ-ñon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and was punished for them in this fashion).

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6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare [illegible]delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsañs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ĉos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

dish at this "changing of the body." To begin with, now, the abbot spreads the apo-rdzas, that is, the pills called "changing substance," rubbed into a powder and mixed with butter, on the skull of the deceased person. Then he recites a formula to exorcize the soul of the deceased person, which goes: "The truth of Buddha, the turth of the Law, the truth of the Monkhood (therefore the 'Three Jewels' which correspond to the concept of the divinity), the truth of the secret formulas of exorcism and of the family exorcizing formulas, the truth of the host of gods belonging to the tutelary god Amitabha (10). Trusting in the power of this (fivefold) truth, may Tsering who has departed from this world into the Beyond, wheresoever the thinking substance (rnam-śes, Sanskrit, vijñana) (11) of his soul may be at the moment: in Bardo, or in one /216/ of the four places of births, in whichsoever of the united four realms of the world he may be, may he rest here for a brief little moment!" This the priest whispered three times (into the ear of the dead man) and in the belief in Amitabha, the Buddha of the immeasurable light, he then read the book t'os-agrol and the book "Of the way of changing the body." Then he recited the prayer asking for translation into Paradise. When that was over, (one of the relatives of the deceased) gave the monk six or eight annas as "changing compensation" (ap'o-yon, compensation for the "changing of the body").

10. Tibetan, Od-dpag med; he is one of the five "Heavenly Buddhas," the spiritual father of the Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the particular tutelary deity of Tibet.

11. "Thinking substance" translates the Sanskrit word vijna (Tibetan, rnam-śes). It designates according to ancient Indic philosophy one of the five skandha (elements life) which in their composition constitute a living creature. At the death of a person this non-corporeal "substance" which comes into being through the slumbering impressions of previous existences (samskara) that have remained behind, stays behind as final germ of life. Unless these latent impressions and germs of life are destroyed by patient striving after the highest recognition (Bodhi), a new will to live is again awakened, new forms are fashioned, new reincarnations take place, and with them there comes new suffering. [761]

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyaṅ ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts "hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje aĉaṅ) (14), and that in this way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

14. In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

has proceeded properly, is the secretion of seminal fluid in the case of the men, and of blood from the ear of the corpse in the case of women. After the cremation of the corpse there are supposed to be tiny openings in the top of the head (through which the soul is supposed to have escaped).

/217/ The Preparation of the Body for Burial

Until the ceremony of the "changing of the body" is completed, no one touches the corpse. It is feared that otherwise the soul will be driven out of the body prematurely by a shock, before the lama has shown it the certain way to release, and that it would then wander about restlessly and without protection in Bardo. When the process of the "changing of the body" is over, the p'as-pun take off all the ornaments that the dead person has on him. Some of the p'as-pun wash the corpse, others salve it with hot butter. (The corpse is then taken into the household temple and set down there.)

It is told that in earlier times in Tibet many dead persons had come back to life. From then on there arose the custom of making the doors of the household temple very low and tying the corpses down with strings. In Lahul the men as well as the women all wear a string of wool constantly slung under the sash around their body, so that, in case someone should die in a place where no string is available, (the corpse) can still be tied with the woollen string (and so that in this way the corpse that has come back to life cannot escape). For the person who has been resurrected from death is unable to bend down, and thus he is also unable to get out of the household temple, being prevented from doing so by the low door and the string. The corpse is now put into a crouching position: both knees of the corpse are pulled up to the chin, and both hands up to the ears; then (the body) is tied with strings and shaped into a bundle, in this position. It is said that this is the form of the Dorje (rdo-rje) (15). Now the corpse is put inside a linen sack, called the winding sheet (ro-ras), and then it is placed inside the household temple (16) on a platform made of bricks. A curtain

15. The dorje (Sanskrit vajra, meaning "thunderbolt") is the magical weapon of the gods and the priests in their battle against the demons.

16. In many parts of Tibet the corpse is placed in a squatting

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/218/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, ,the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 789
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal))." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This [776]
death demon (zá-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money) donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

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18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope:
787 When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person
789 must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth
cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mañ, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol (invocation to the gods), the gyañ-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

764 since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

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789 The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

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27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoṅ-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzaṅs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29).

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29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

30. His dying in sin.

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep. Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

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and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum dań gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespagsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

33. Bumpa, meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is 764
to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug cere- 787
mony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam- 789
dbyañs) is to be set up.

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

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35. The title of a book.

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform 787 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

789 /224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puṅ, float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puṅ, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyaṅs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

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39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khotlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this way, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the ceremonies resulting from them, to the "gift offerers" (layman). The onpo performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion. Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas) are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures (animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (śa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the [771]
Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests.

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contradistinction to Those of the Onpos)

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Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (šog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44), as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mčod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants
764 of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary
789 deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off (the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

44. Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

45. To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764
Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two
weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper"
(The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byań-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and
texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the de- 764
ceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are 783
presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts
the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47).

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), 764
these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions).

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46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

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The Feeding of the Dead Person-- The Burning of the Paper (The Paper Mask of the Dead Person)

Now the abbot makes a hollow in the middle of a large flour dumpling which is handed to him; into it he pours melted butter, sprinkles sugar on it, and on top of this he places a piece of meat, and further he puts bread and cake in a circle around the flour dumpling in a dish; in a second dish he puts rice, and he puts tea in a jug, fills beer into another jug and places everything down in front of the corpse. These are the dead person's favorite dish (48) which are

> 48. It is supposed that the soul of the dead person enjoys the essence of the dishes, so that afterwards the nutritive power of these has disappeared.

"pleasing to the taste." Now, after these dishes have been placed before the dead person according to the manner of the Bon, the abbot's servant takes a little something from the dishes, fashions from it a flat cake, and lays this down on the little table in front of the abbot. The latter takes the flat cake and holds it to a burning torch or to the burning sacrificial fire. Then, when (at the reciting of formulas) he comes to the particular place "of the burning of the paper," he takes the greeting ribbon off the arrow (the abbot receives this greeting ribbon), takes up the paper mask (with the picture of the deceased), holds it above the flame, and then, when the paper mask, lying on the flat cake, is completely burned, the abbot folds the ashes of the paper inside the flat cake, forms the latter into a lump, and hands it to one of the p'as-pun; the latter lays the /228/ lump down inside the household temple (in which the corpse is still laid out). As compensation for this "paper burning" the lamas receive an entire suit of clothing belonging to the deceased (49).

> 49. In my opinion the custom of burning the paper mask is founded upon the conception that by it the existence which is now concluded, is completely destroyed after the soul of the departed, whose reappearance is feared by the relatives, has also been appeased by the presentation of dishes. --In some parts of Tibet a rough doll is created on the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house. This crude doll is fashioned

by hanging the clothes of the deceased on a block of wood, a chair, or the like. The doll is supposed to represent the deceased. In place of the face a printed picture is attached, which represents in rough outline a man or--in other cases--a woman. The figure in the picture sits in a posture of adoration. Underneath it is written the name of the deceased and a prayer addressed to the lamas, the Buddhas, the "Root Lama" and to the hosts of gods, asking for forgiveness of all sins, for blessing and for speedy attainment of the dignity of a Buddha. In front of this doll dishes of food and drinks are placed for seven weeks, instead of in front of the corpse which has been taken away. The burning of the paper mask represents, then, the last farewell from the departed and is intended to prevent his reappearance; it takes place at the conclusion of the seven weeks; as a rule the funeral rites are concluded with this ceremony. The doll is then undressed, and the lamas divide among themselves the clothes and other belongings of the dead person. During the burning of the paper mask, the lama determines from the form and the color of the flame, of what nature the new existential form of the departed person will be. If this is of an unfavorable kind, for instance a rebirth in the animal kingdom, or as a beggar, as one tortured in hell, new ceremonies are prescribed and held for the "salvation of the unfortunate." These ceremonies drag out for weeks. The ceremony of the "Western Paradise" is repeated until the end of the seven weeks every week, and the expenses of all these exercises are of such a kind that it is extremely rare that a single individual can bear them alone. The p'as-pun then help in bearing the burden. The poorer the relatives of the dead person are, the fewer exercises they have performed.

If the funeral ceremonies drag out into many days, the following books are also read (by the lamas): "the praise of the eight blissfully perfected (Buddhas) (bde-bar gśegs-pa brgyad-kyi bstod-pa)," the book "of the medicine Buddha (sman-bla)," the book of the "offering of the lamas," of the "good metamorphosis (bzaṅ-spyod)," of the "beginning of the good metamorphosis (spyod-ajug)," of the "prayer for paradise (bde-ba-can-gyi smon-lam)," "of infinity (mt'a-yas-ma)," the Prayer to Maitreya (byams-pei smon-lam)," and so forth, as many books as possible, countless (books).

The Burial By Fire

764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

furnace. In some villages the corpse is also carried in the following manner: it is attached to a rod and this rod is again attached to the back of the two carriers.

When the corpse is carried out of the house (and buried), the lamas wear the required ornaments (with the crown made of papier-mache (dbań-ĉas)and the implements used for the exorcism of the spirits), and amidst the blowing of the the large trumpets they go to the place of cremation. Neighbors and villagers who have gathered around, carry wood, glowing charcoal, and implements for the cremation of the corpse, as well as two food and drink offerings, and also the skulls of two sheeps. As they march along, they constantly mumble to themselves: "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" The close relatives take off their caps and conceal them; the women go dressed without any shawls (52). Each of them carries a burning stalk of frankincense, and so they walk along behind the corpse. In Sangskar two men march in front of the corpse carrying a strip of white cloth to a length of from one to two dompa (about three meters) stretched out between them, in order to show the dead person the "White Path" (to Paradise). In Central Ladakh (the environs of Leh) this is not done (53).

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impure in exchange for payment.

52. Which under ordinary circumstances is considered unbecoming.

53. In Central Tibet a ceremonious farewell is paid to the dead person, before the corpse is carried to the place of cremation. After the most delectable dishes, including also meat and drinks of all kinds, have been placed before him, a lama hands a greeting ribbon to the dead person and addresses him as follows: "You, Tsering! You have now received all these good dishes and drinks from your relatives. Enjoy the essence of these to the full, since you will not have any further opportunity to do so later! You must understand that you have died, and that your spirit must leave this place, and that it may not return and disturb or harm the relatives. Remember carefully the name of the lama who takes care of your soul, his name is Chospell. With his assistance, walk the right, the White Path (to Paradise)! Come, follow me!" With this, the

lama goes ahead of the corpse-bearer carrying in his left hand the trumpet made of the bones of human legs, and in his right hand the little hand drum, as well as one end of the long, broad, white ribbon, the other end of which is tied around one arm of the dead man. In this way, the lama "leads" the dead man to the place of cremation amidst the blowing of the bone trumpet, the beating of the drum, and the reciting of a mass. --See Waddell, Lamaism!

As soon as the corpse has been set down inside of the cremating furnace, the lamas pray the "Great Litany" (p'yag-ĉen gsol adebs). In this litany, the "Great Merciful One" (Avalokiteṣvara) is called upon and asked to intercede on behalf of the deceased with the god of death and of hell, so that the latter may spare the dead person from the punishments of hell and so that the Great Merciful One may be able to lead the departed into the paradise of heavenly joys. The /230/ closer and more distant relatives circle around the cremating furnace three times, carrying burning stalks of incense in their hands, and three times they fall down on their faces in adoration.

Then the relatives go home. The people along the street and other villagers (who have helped) buy beer with the two to three rupees which they received from the "gift offerer, " and then go with this "meeting beer" (ap'rad- lugskyi ĉa[illegible]) to an open place where they drink it. This is also called the "street beer-drinking. "

After the praying of the "Great Litany" is ended, the lamas set about the cremating of the corpse. When (in the prayer) they come to the place which concerns the lighting of the cremating fire, a sacrificial servant takes the torch from one of the p'as-pun and gives it to the abbot. The latter pronounces a formula of purification over the fire, and gives the torch back to the sacrificial servant. The latter then ignites the pile of wood under the corpse (54).

54. The cylindrical furnace of cremation is built of bricks, and has openings at the bottom through which the fire is lit. On top, the oven is entirely open. These furnaces are situated outside the village, mostly in groups, since each of the clans (p'as-punships) has its own furnace. In the rite (purification of the fire), Iranian influences seem to make themselves felt.

Once the corpse is burnt, the lamas put the remains of the bones that have not been consumed by the flames, which are called "flowers" (me-tog), inside a sack that they give to one of the ṗ'as-pun to carry. Thereupon, amidst the blowing of the great trumpets, they return to the house of the "gift offerer."

The inhabitants of the house receive the lamas with a donation of money (ṗ'ogs), with beer and jugs, two large dumplings which are called tsogs ak'or, two (roasted) sheep's heads, of which one is designated for the lamas, and the other for the ṗ'as-pun. The lamas of the strict sect of the Geldanpa (who observe the interdicts regarding the eating of flesh), give their share to the beggars. Even ordinary people, laymen, often give their share to the beggars, "for the sake of blessing." As soon as the lamas have entered the house, rice and tea are placed before them. Thereupon the clothes of the deceased that are still there--insofar as they are to be given to the lamas--the dead man's household implements, his table, his blankets, his ornaments, and the like are placed in a heap inside the household temple for the lamas. The abbot says a formula of blessing over these things for the benefit of the deceased (so that these gifts will be accounted as a meritorious service by him). Then the lamas immediately and on the spot sell the dead man's bequest to the buyers (who have rushed to the spot) and distribute the profits in equal parts among themselves, return to their cells, and with this the funeral rites (as a rule) come to an end. If the /231/ corpse is not yet fully burned, the p'as-pun remain seated in front of the cremating furnace until this has happened. There they also consume the food that has been given them by the "gift offerer," and drink the tea and the beer that have been donated by him.

The lamas of the Drugpa sect (abrug-pa) (55), who honor the Dhyanibuddha Dorje Chang (rdo-rje aĉañ) and Mit'rugpa (mi-ak'rug-pa) (56) as their tutelary deities, perform the following prayers for a departed person: 1. Of the pious change (ĉos-spyod); 2. Of the good change (bźañ-spyod); 3. All secrets (gsañ-kun); 4. Paradise (bde-ba-can); 5. True joy (mñon-par dga-ba); 6. The beginning of the change (spyod-ajug); 7. The long litany (smon-lam riñ-mo); 8. The

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55. A subordinate sect of the reformed Kargyupa sect.

56. The names of two (fictitious) Buddhas.

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works (las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of salvation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not all of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbań) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

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57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

They take the ashes of the (cremated) corpse out of the furnace, and put them inside a sack; then they paint the entire furnace white both inside and out. On top above the opening a roof is formed (out of stone and bricks). The holes (fire holes) down below are closed (with stones). On top of the roof of the furnace they stick a white flag. With the statement, "Now we carry off the 'flowers' (meaning, 'the remains of the bones and the ashes')," the p'as-pun load the ashes of the corpse onto the horse. In this way two lamas take the ashes to the river (60) amidst the blowing of the large trumpets, and scatter it there.

On the very day on which the corpse is carried out (and burned), the bone ceremony is started on the (larger) remains of bones which have been brought into the house. This ceremony lasts one day. The crushed bones are mixed with the ashes of the burned paper mask, with loam, as well as with the shavings of jewels (turquoises, agates, and others) and metals, and with this mixture five, ten, even up to 100 and more pastes (impressions, Tibetan t'sa-t'sa), are created. (61). Some keep these impressions in their household temples, others build a special T'sat'sa shrine (t'sad-k'an), shaped like a chorten, and put the pastes inside. Others again, place them inside an old chorten, and again others throw them away on the mountain or into the river. By the assertion of the practitioners of black magic, the lamas even consecrate (62) artfully created t'sat'sas with pictures of deities (in relief), to be worn on a ribbon around the neck as amulets.

Now, after each (participating) lama has received a compensation

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60. In Ladakh it is usually the Indus River or one of its tributaries.

61. These pastes are pressed /or, printed/ with the help of very finely carved wooden moulds. On the front side they show pictures (reliefs) of Buddhas and other deities. Frequently they also bear the figure of a chorten.

62. Through the consecration by the priests, the T'sat'sa images are supposed to be endowed with magical powers, and therefore [751] they are believed to be effective as an amulet for defense against disease and danger.

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--
Feeding of the Manes

783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lña-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place, and they all take the dishes called "schimi" (63) there: rice, bread, 765

63. Shimi (śi-mi) is simply what the dead person is called; but in this case it designates the food offering which is brought to the dead (manes).

cake, as well as meat, the 12th part of a killed animal, jugs full of beer, and many other things of the kind. The people place the dishes on a flat /234/ stone surface, and each one calls upon his deceased ancestors by name. (In conclusion) they then, after they have named the various names, call out: "You spirits of the earth and spirits of the rocks, kai, kai!" (64) They also call this "carrying breakfast to the

64. The restless spirits of the deceased are presumed to have turned into earth and rock spirits. "Kai, kai" means "listen, listen!"

plain." After the dishes, the tea, and the beer have been brought out to the dead in this manner, the people divide themselves into groups (according to the clans), and drink beer. The remains of the dishes are given to the beggars who gathered there.

Like their Buddhistic ancestors, the Muslims in Ladakh also had the custom of carrying out the shimi (food offering of the dead) onto the plain(the place of burial), within the year following the death; but a few years ago they gave up this practice. It is possible that in some villages the Muslims still offer up the shimi (65).

65. In parts of France, of Bretagne, and probably also of Russia, as well as in other Christian countries, the custom has still been preserved of bringing dishes of food, cake, sweets, and the like, out to the graves for the dead, on certain days. See, Waddell, Lamaism!

The Great Mass for the Dead

Some wealthy Buddhists in Ladakh also hold the so-called "Great Mass for the dead" (mań-ĉog). They consult the soothsayer regarding a suitable day for the occasion, and they request the abbot of a (nearby) monastery to hold the Great Mass for the dead. The lamas who celebrate the mass go together with the closest relatives of the dead

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

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Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769

Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a satisfactory existence; that it is still wandering around in Bardo without peace; and that it disturbs the surviving relatives, something which manifests itself in bad dreams, in attacks of mental derangement, and in similar phenomena. This now requires new measures of defense and of bringing about salvation. The means already mentioned are repeated ad infinitum, and burnt offerings are presented. A small pyramid with three sides is constructed from little sticks, and around this the lama places the remains of meals, rags of cloth, twigs, the leaves of trees, and poison (!). Then he pours oil over everything and lights the whole affair. Then the lama holds a piece of paper bearing the name of the dead person in question, in the flames, so that it burns to ashes. By this operation the finished existence, with all germs of life that might still be able to revive, is supposed to be destroyed finally and conclusively, and the restless soul is finally to come to its rest.

FOR THE PRONUNCIATION

of the Tibetan words and sentences printed in italics, the following observation is to be made; the letters are to be pronounced as follows: 104

k	equals	German k	
k'	equals	k-h	(aspirated)
g	equals	g	
ṅ	equals	ng	
ĉ	equals	tsch	
c'	equals	tsch-h	(aspirated)
j	equals	dsch	(as in Dschebel)
ny	equals	nj	(as in Njemen)
t	equals	t	
t'	equals	t-h	(aspirated)
d	equals	d	
n	equals	n	
p	equals	p	
p'	equals	p-h	(aspirated)

b	equals	b	
m	equals	m	
ts	equals	German z	
t's	equals	z-h	(hard, aspirated)
dz	equals	ds	(soft)
w	equals	w	
ź	equals	French j in "jour"	
z	equals	French z (soft)	
y	equals	German j	
r	equals	r	
1	equals	1	
ś	equals	sch	
s	equals	sharp s	
h	equals	h	

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in German.